RESOLUTIONS ON MATTERS OF GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST.

Recruitment to the Public Service.—(*Contd.*)

PRESIDENT: The Council will now resume the discussion of resolution No. 4 which stands in the name of Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman:

MR. G. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Tiruvalla*): Sir, I regret I cannot support the resolution as it is worded. Had it aimed at an equal treatment to all the communities in the land, I would not have hesitated to support it. Had it gone a little further and suggested a more sympathetic treatment to the unrepresented and less represented communities, I would still have not quarrelled with it. But when I see that a total exclusion of the more advanced communities is what is proposed by the resolution, I am sorry, I cannot lend my support to it. The present state of affairs is the result of a combination of circumstances and nothing is to be gained by a re-search into the historical reasons for the same. No particular community—at least, the present generation of no one community—is responsible for the existing condition. To play now the part of the wolf in the old story of the wolf and the lamb and to tell the young men of more advanced communities that they and their successors should for years to come give up the idea of securing Government jobs is, in my opinion, neither justifiable nor advisable. Rather than inflicting this vicarious sort of punishment on the innocent young men, it is better to close the doors of schools and colleges against these communities for a sufficient length of time The scheme proposed by the resolution, though an innocent- looking and philanthropic one on the surface, is, I fear, more suggestive when closely scrutinised. I am sure the entire body of unrepresented communities is not going to benefit by it, for several of such communities are not yet in a position to compete successfully with others. Two or three communities that profess to stand in the forefront of the entire body will be the real beneficiaries and the result will be that they could monopolise the future appointments in public service.

A practical working of the scheme will, I fear, often strand Government in the land of absurdities. For example, suppose there is a vacancy for a high judicial appointment. Two applicants come forward—one, a raw graduate in law belonging to a non-represented community, and the other, also a graduate in law, but an experienced veteran lawyer belonging to a represented community. The raw man will under the scheme have to be preferred for the sake of his community, and fine indeed will be the sort of justice we get;

Then again, the man who owes his appointment to the accident of his birth in a particular community will always feel indebted to the community for his position; and this feeling will, I apprehend, tend to make him grow more and more clannish. The mischief, if allowed to work on a large scale, will produce disastrous results and the consequent state of affairs is better imagined than expressed. On the contrary, if an officer could conscientiously believe that he owes his position to his ability and intrinsic merit, that consciousness will act as an impetus in

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[Mr. G. Narayana Pillai.]

him to appreciate and encourage ability wherever found; and the result will be the efficiency of service and the good Government resulting therefrom. I could endorse a scheme aimed to produce such a result, but not the one under discussion, which, I apprehend, will, if at all, produce only the opposite result. Of course, I grant 'efficiency' is a word under cover of which an unscrupulous officer could do things as he pleases, and this has necessarily to be guarded against. It is also true that there is a considerable volume of opinion in the country that the present state of recruitment is not satisfactory and deserves modification. The question is how a satisfactory solution is to be arrived at. I would, for my part, suggest that Government may constitute a committee representative of the various interests and entrust the committee with the task of devising a scheme which may be fair to all parties and at the same time not detrimental to the efficiency of public service. This, I think, will serve to increase the harmony between the different communities and afford peace and satisfaction all round.

With these words, I oppose the resolution.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): Sir, I must at the very outset state that I am against this communal representation at all, but that efficiency and efficiency alone should be considered in the matter of recruitment to the Government service. But so far as the Government have accepted communal representation in the matter of recruitment, I do not wish to quarrel with them *at this stage*. Since the principle of communal representation is followed, I think it very necessary to state here that the Vellala community which is given a separate unit in the category is not encouraged at all. I may even say it is positively discouraged. These may be strong propositions, but they are true. It cannot be denied that some days back our community was given the chance of offering the best men in every department to the State. The names of Professor Sundaram Pillai, Muthukumaraswami Pillai, Sadasivan Pillai, Chellappa Pillai and Ponnambalam Pillai may suggest themselves to any one who is interested in facts. Before the institution of the Financial Secretariat, the leading strings of the whole Financial Department in the State, including the Devaswoms, were under the control of the enlightened members of our community. It is not necessary to go to the still olden days and refer to the period of political struggle. As for the present, the cases of Mr. Kuttalalingam Pillai, Vaidyalingam Pillai and Gomatinayakam Pillai, are instances of persons wherein Government have been systematically following an unsympathetic policy towards our community. So far as applicants are concerned, the Vellala applicants to the probationary Inspectors' posts and Traffic Inspectors' posts were not given as much consideration as their superior merits and departmental conventions necessitate.

I am of opinion that our Judicial Department must contain the best of men equipped with the deepest knowledge of law, sturdiest independence of character and approved impartial spirit. For God's sake, let efficiency be the sole consideration in this department at least. Let the past be buried. At least from this date, I pray that this wholesome principle of unconditional efficiency be followed in this department at least.

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MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): Does the member think that even in the Judicial Department there is a cry for communal representation ?

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): There is a cry for communal representation there. That is why I say it should be removed.

There is enough room and enough applicants in the Judicial department for the Vellalas to fill up, even if the principle of efficiency is to be immediately followed. Then, need I say, Sir, that when communal representation is the order of the day, the Government are not giving sufficient encouragement to the Vellalas in that department also ? Probably, I can make myself more felt by repetitions and amplifications of the statements which I have already made. But in fairness to your discretion, Sir, I must stop by merely pointing out that the Vellala community is not sufficiently encouraged. I would even say, not encouraged at all, not to say discouraged by the Government in the matter of appointments to Public service.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam cum Vilavankod*): മി: കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കാൻ നിവ്വാഹമില്ലാതിരിക്കുന്നു. മിസ്റ്റർ കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മൻ ഈ പ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിച്ചപ്പോൾ പ്രധാനമായി വാദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് ഉദ്യോഗനിയമന സംബന്ധമായി ഉണ്ടായിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന അസംതൃപ്തിയും രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഭാവിശ്രേയസ്സിനു ഹാനികരമായ രീതിയിൽ പരിണമിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും, അതിൽനിന്നും രാജ്യത്തിനു് ഒരു മോചനം ലഭിക്കേണ്ടതു് ഏറ്റവും അത്യാവശ്യമാണെന്നും, ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനവിഷയത്തിൽ ഖണ്ഡിതമായ ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥ ഗവർമ്മെന്റു സ്വീകരിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞാൽ ഈ കുഴപ്പത്തിനെല്ലാം നിവൃത്തിയുണ്ടാകുമെന്നുമാണു്. ഇതിൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തു ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനസംബന്ധമായി അസംതൃപ്തിയുണ്ടെന്നും അതിൽനിന്നും രാജ്യത്തിനു മോചനം ലഭിക്കേണ്ടതു് അത്യാവശ്യമാണെന്നും, ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തിൽ ഖണ്ഡിതമായ ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥ ഗവർമ്മെന്റു സ്വീകരിക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്നും ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തിലുള്ള അസംതൃപ്തിയേയും അതിനാൽ രാജ്യത്തിനു വരുന്ന ദോഷത്തേയും പരിഹരിക്കുന്നതിനു മിസ്റ്റർ കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മൻ കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള വഴികളോടു ഞാൻ യോജിക്കുന്നില്ല. അദ്ദേഹം പറയുന്നതു് ഒഴിവുവരുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കു് ആ ഉദ്യോഗം വഹിക്കുന്നതിനു വേണ്ട പരീക്ഷായോഗ്യതയുള്ള ഒന്നിലധികം വക്തിൽപെട്ട അപേക്ഷകന്മാർ ഉള്ളപ്പോൾ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞവക്തിൽപെട്ട അപേക്ഷകനെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്നാണു്.

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[Mr. T. Kumara Pillai.]

ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനസംബന്ധമായുള്ളതും ഓരോ ദിവസവും വർദ്ധിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതുമായ അസംതൃപ്തിനെ മിസ്റ്റർ കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മന്റെ നിർദ്ദേശപ്രകാരം ഒരിക്കലും കുറവുവരുന്നതല്ലാ. നേരെമറിച്ച് അതിന്റെ ഫലമായിതീരുന്നതു പബ്ലിക്കുസർവീസിൽ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കേണ്ട കാര്യക്ഷമതക്കു വലുതായ കുറവുവരും.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha cum Todupuzha*): ഇപ്പോൾ കാര്യക്ഷമതയനുസരിച്ചാണോ നിയമനങ്ങൾ നടക്കുന്നത്?

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam cum Vilavankod*): എനിക്കു പത്തു മിനിട്ടേ സമയമുള്ളൂ. എന്റെ പ്രസംഗം തീർത്തതിൽ പിന്നീടു പ്രസിഡന്റനുവദിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം നിങ്ങളുടെ ചോദ്യത്തിനുത്തരം പറയാം.

കാര്യശേഷിക്കു് അനുരൂപമായി ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളും ഉദ്യോഗകയറ്റങ്ങളും കിട്ടേണ്ടവക്കു് അയയ്ക്കു നഷ്ടമായിത്തീരും. വർഗ്ഗീയമത്സരം അപരിമിതമായി വർദ്ധിച്ചുവരും. ഈ ദുരിതങ്ങൾ വരുത്തിക്കൂട്ടിയതിനു പലെ കാരണങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടു്. ഏറ്റവുമത്തെ കാരണം ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മെന്റു ഒരു സ്ഥിരമായ നയം സ്വീകരിക്കാത്തതുതന്നെയാണു്.

രണ്ടാമത്തെകാരണം ഓരോ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും പബ്ലിക്കു സർവീസിനു വേണ്ടതായ കാര്യക്ഷമതയെ ആലോചിക്കാതെ സജാതീയരെത്തന്നെ നിയമിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതു കുറേകരമല്ലെന്നും അതിനെപ്പറ്റി വേണ്ടപോലെ അന്വേഷിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നതുമാണു്. (Mr. A. J. John: *Hear, hear.*) ജനങ്ങളെ പിരിച്ചുനിറുത്തി ഭരിക്കാൻ ഗവർമ്മെന്റിനു ഈ നയം വേണ്ടപോലെ ഉപകരിച്ചുപോരുന്നുണ്ടെന്നിരുന്നാലും അതിന്മേൽ രാജ്യത്തിനു വന്നുചേരുന്ന ദുരിതങ്ങളെ ആലോചിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നതു കഷ്ടമാണെന്നു പറയാതെതരമില്ലാ. ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മെന്റു ഒരു സ്ഥിരമായ നയം സ്വീകരിച്ചുപോരുന്നില്ലെന്നു തെളിയിക്കാൻ പ്രയാസമില്ലാത്തതാണു.

ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഫെബ്രുവരി ഫസ്റ്റാം ജനുവരി ഫസ്റ്റാം ഗവർമ്മെന്റിനു് ഒരു മെമ്മോറിയൽസമർപ്പിച്ചതിനു അന്നത്തെ ചീഫ സെക്രട്ടറിയായിരുന്ന മിസ്റ്റർ F. Watts ഗവർമ്മെന്റിനുവേണ്ടി കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള മറുപടിയിൽ ഒരു ഭാഗം ഇങ്ങിനെയാണു്.

"His Highness will be very happy to give preferment to people of the classes referred to in the memorial according to the requirements of the public service and the circumstances of the country and, more than all, according to individual merit as compared with other classes. Whether they get into the service in larger numbers and rise or not depends more on themselves and the state of society in the country to which they belong, than on the Government."

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ആ കാലത്തു് ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറു സ്വീകരിച്ചുപോന്നിരുന്നതായ നയം ഇങ്ങനെയായിരുന്നു. അതിൽപിന്നീടു ശ്രീമൂലംപ്രജാസഭയിൽ ജനപ്രതിനിധികളുടെ വാദഫലമായി വർഗ്ഗീയപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം ഗവണ്മെൻറു സ്വീകരിക്കാനിടയായി. അടുത്തകാലം മുതൽ നിയമസഭയിൽ ജനപ്രതിനിധികളുടെ വാദഫലമായി ഉയന്തരം ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കും ഉദ്യോഗകയറ്റങ്ങൾക്കും വർഗ്ഗീയപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യനയം ഗവർണ്മെൻറു സ്വീകരിച്ചു. ഇതുകളുടെ ഫലം പബ്ലിക്കുസർവ്വീസിൽ കായ്ക്ഷമതക്കു വലുതായ കുറവിനെ ഉണ്ടാക്കിത്തീർക്കാനിടയായി. ഇതിൻവഴിയായി വർഗ്ഗീയപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറു സ്വീകരിച്ചതിനുപുറമെ ഒരു വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽപെട്ട കൂടുതൽ ആളുകൾ ഉള്ള താലൂക്കുകളിൽ ആ വർഗ്ഗക്കാരെതന്നെ ചില ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കായി നിയമിക്കുന്ന നയവും കൂടി സ്വീകരിച്ചു.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha cum Todupuzha*) : അതു ഏതു താലൂക്കിനെസംബന്ധിച്ചാണു്?

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam cum Vilavankod*): തിരുവല്ലാ, ചെങ്ങന്നൂർ ഈ താലൂക്കുകളിൽ Co-operative ബാങ്കുകാരുടെ നിയമനങ്ങളും അതിലേക്കുള്ള ഗവർണ്മെൻറു ഉത്തരവും സാക്ഷ്യം നില്ക്കുന്നതാണു്. ഇങ്ങിനെയൊരു നയം സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നതിനും ഇങ്ങിനെയൊരു ഗവർണ്മെൻറു ഉത്തരവു കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനും നിശ്ചയിച്ചതായ മനസ്ഥിതി അതുടെതായിരുന്നാലും അതു രാജ്യത്തിനു ഒരിക്കലും ഗുണകരമായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ലാ. ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായഗതികളും മനസ്ഥിതികളും എത്രത്തോളം മാറിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും അതുയർത്തു് രാജ്യരക്ഷക്കു് എത്രത്തോളം ഹാനികരമായിത്തീർന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതും ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞറിയിക്കാൻ തരമില്ലാതിരിക്കുന്നു. ഗവർണ്മെൻറു സ്വീകരിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്ന വർഗ്ഗീയപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യനയത്തെ യുക്തികരമായി നടത്താൻ സാധിക്കുമോ എന്നാണു് ഇനി നോക്കേണ്ടതു്. പ്രത്യേകസമുദായങ്ങളായും, പ്രത്യേകപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യത്തിനു് അവകാശികളായും ഗണിച്ചുപോരുന്നതു്.—

(1) Mussalman
(2) Christian
(3) Hindu
(4) Others.

ഈ ഭാഗക്രമത്തിനു മഹമ്മദീയക്കു് ഉദ്യോഗസമ്പാദനത്തിനു് അതിയായ സൌകര്യമുണ്ടെന്നിരുന്നാലും അവക്കു് അതു സാധിച്ചുകിട്ടുന്നില്ല. അതിലേക്കു പറഞ്ഞുവരുന്ന സമാധാനം പബ്ലിക്കുസർവ്വീസിനു് അത്യാവശ്യം

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വേണ്ടതായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവർ കുറവെന്നാണ്. എന്നാൽ അവരിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസയോഗ്യതയുള്ളവർക്ക് ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തുവരുന്നുണ്ടോ എന്നു നോക്കുന്നതായാൽ അവിടെ അവർക്ക് ഇക്കാര്യത്തിലാണ് ഇടയുള്ളതു്. അതിലേക്ക് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്ന കാരണം ഇവിടത്തെ പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവ്വീസിൽ ഉയർന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ അവരുടെ ആളുകൾ ഇല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടെന്നാണ്.

അടുത്തതായിവരുന്ന സമുദായം ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളാണ്. അതിൽ പല പിരിവുകളും ഉണ്ട്. അതായതു്

(1) Protestant
(2) Roman Catholic
(3) Syrians.

സിറിയൻസിൽ പല ഉപപിരിവുകളും ഉള്ളതാണ്. അതായതു്,

(*a*) Jacobite
(*b*) Reformed
(*c*) Romo Syrians ഇവയാണ്.

ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളിൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട പിരിവുകളെയും ഉപപിരിവുകളെയും ഓരോ സമുദായങ്ങളായി ഗണിച്ച് അവരുടെ ഭാഗക്രമത്തിനു് ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾവേണമെന്നു ചോദിക്കയും അങ്ങിനെ കൊടുത്തുവരികയും ചെയ്യുന്നു.

അതിനടുത്തുവരുന്നതായ സമുദായം ഹിന്ദുക്കളാണ്. അവരിൽ അനേകം പിരിവുകളും ഉപപിരിവുകളും ഉള്ളതിൽ ഗവർമ്മെൻറു് ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തിൽ സ്വീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്

(1) Brahmin (Malayala)
(2) Brahmin (others)
(3) Nadar
(4) Ezhava
(5) Kammala
(6) Kshatriya (Malayala)
(7) Nayar
(8) Pulaya
(9) Other depressed classes
(10) Vellala
(11) Other Hindus.

ഹിന്ദുക്കളിൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട മറ്റനേകം സമുദായങ്ങളെ ഗവർമ്മെൻറ് ഈ പട്ടികയിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുത്താതെ വിട്ടിരിക്കയാണു ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. അതിലേക്കു ഗവർമ്മെൻറു പറയുന്ന സമാധാനം ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തിൽ പങ്കുവേണമെന്നു ഗവർമ്മെൻറിനോടു് അവർ അപേക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നാണ്,

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എല്ലാറ്റിനും ഒടുവിൽവരുന്ന സമുദായം 'Others' എന്നുള്ള വാക്കിൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടവരാണ്. ഇതിൽ ആരെല്ലാം ഉൾപ്പെടുമെന്നും, ആരെയെല്ലാം ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും അറിയാൻതരമില്ലാ.

ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്റെ ഈ ഭാഗവ്യവസ്ഥയിൽ ഇവക്ക് ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ എങ്ങിനെ കിട്ടുമെന്നും എങ്ങിനെ കൊടുക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുമെന്നുമാണ് ഇനി നോക്കേണ്ടതു. ഇവിടത്തെ പബ്ളിക്ക സർവ്വീസിൽ ഫസ്റ്റ് ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ ഒഴിവുവരുമ്പോൾ ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്റെ തരംതിരിപ്പിൻപ്രകാരം

(1)	Mussalman	1
(2)	Christian	6
(3)	Hindus	11
(4)	Others	1

ഇങ്ങിനെ വീതിച്ചു കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതായിവരുന്നതാണ്.

ഈ കണക്കിൻപ്രകാരം ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ വീതിച്ചു കൊടുക്കുന്നതിലും ശരിയായ ന്യായം കിട്ടുന്നില്ലെന്നാണ് ജനങ്ങളുടെ വിശ്വാസം.

മഹമ്മദീയരുടെ ഉദ്യോഗ ഓഹരിവരുമ്പോൾ ആ സമുദായത്തിൽ അനന്തരപന്മാരായ ആളുകൾ ഇല്ലെന്നുള്ള സമാധാനത്തോട്ട കൂടി അവരെ നീക്കി നിറുത്താവുന്നതാണ്.

ക്രസ്ത്യൻസിനു കൊടുക്കാനുള്ള ആറു ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളും അവർക്കുകൊടുക്കാതെ തരമില്ലാ.

ഹിന്ദുസമുദായത്തിൽ പെട്ടതും ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് സ്വീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുമായ ഭാഗക്രമത്തിനു ഫസ്റ്റ് ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതായുണ്ട്. അതിൽ മലയാള ബ്രാഹ്മണരിൽ തക്കതായ ആളുകൾ ഇല്ലെന്നു സമാധാനം പറഞ്ഞു അവരെ ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാം.

മറ്റു ബ്രാഹ്മണർ പബ്ലിക്ക സർവീസിൽ കൂടുതലാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞു അവരെ ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാം.

നാടാന്മാരിൽ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കു യോഗ്യതയുള്ളവർ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നാലും അവരുടെ ശക്തിക്ഷയം കൊണ്ടു അവക്കു ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കൊടുക്കാതെ കഴിക്കാം.

കമ്മാളന്മാരിലും ക്ഷത്രിയരിലും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവർ കുറവാണെന്നു കാരണം പറഞ്ഞു അവരെയും അതിൽനിന്നും ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാം.

ഈഴവ സമുദായത്തിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവർ ധാരാളം ഉള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനുള്ള അവരുടെ ഓഹരി കൊടുക്കാതെ തരമില്ലാത്തതാണ്.

നായന്മാർ പബ്ലിക്ക സർവീസിൽ കൂടുതലാണെന്നുള്ള സംകല്പത്തോട്ടുകൂടി അവരെയും അതിൽ നിന്നും ഒഴിവാക്കി നിറുത്താവുന്നതാണ്.

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[Mr. T. Kumara Pillai.]

പുലയർ മുതലായ പതിത സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ കഥ ആലോചിക്കാതെ തന്നെ അവരെയും ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാവുന്നതാണു്.

ഈ നിയമസഭയിലും അസംബിളിയിലും പതിത സമുദായക്കാക്കു വേണ്ടി വാദിക്കുന്നവർ ധാരാളം ഉണ്ടു്. എന്നിരുന്നാലും, അവക്കു പതിച്ചു കൊടുക്കുന്ന ഭൂമിയെ ഉടൻ തന്നെ വില കൊടുത്തു വാങ്ങിക്കുന്നതിനും അവക്കുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗത്തെ മറുള്ളവരെ കൊണ്ടു സ്വീകരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും ശ്രമിക്കുന്നതായിട്ടാണു് കണ്ടു വരുന്നതു് (Mr. A. J. John: *Shame.*)

വെള്ളാള സമുദായം രാജ്യഭരണത്തിൽ കണക്കന്മാരായിരുന്നു് രാജ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി പലേ രക്ഷകളും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു് കുറെകാലത്തേക്കു അവരോടും ഒരോ സമാധാനങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞു കഴിക്കാവുന്നതാണു്.

'Other Hindus'എന്നുള്ള വാക്കും അതിന്റെ വ്യാഖ്യാന തക്കവും കൊണ്ടു കുറെകാലം അവക്കും ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളും കൊടുക്കാതെ അവരേയും മാറി നിറുത്താവുന്നതാണു്. ഇങ്ങിനെ വരുമ്പോൾ ഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കു് അതാതു ക്രമത്തിനു സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഫസ്റ്റ് ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്നോ രണ്ടോ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തു ബാക്കി ലാഭമെടുത്തുവയ്ക്കാവുന്നതാണു്. മിസ്റ്റർ. കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മൻ നിയമസഭയിൽ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പ്രമേയം പാസ്സാകയും, അതു ഗവർണ്മെന്റു സ്വീകരിച്ചു നടത്താൻ നിശ്ചയിക്കയും ചെയ്യുന്നതായാൽ മുമ്പേ വിവരിച്ച മാതിരി ലാഭപ്പെടുത്തിവച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കൊടുക്കേണ്ട ആളുകളെ ഏറ്റവും സുലഭമായി കിട്ടുന്നതാണു്.

ഓരോ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ വീതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്നതിൽ ജനസംഖ്യ കണക്കനുസരിച്ചോ, അതിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവരുടെ സംഖ്യ അനുസരിച്ചോ എങ്ങിനെയാണു വേണ്ടതെന്നറിയുന്നില്ലാ.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): എങ്ങിനെയാണു വേണ്ടതെന്നാണു് മിസ്റ്റർ. കുമാരപിള്ളയുടെ അഭിപ്രായം?

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): ഈ വിഷമങ്ങളെല്ലാം സാധിച്ചാലും ഉദ്യോഗനിയമന സംബന്ധമായി ഉണ്ടായികൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന അസ്വാസ്ഥ്യങ്ങൾക്കു കുറവുണ്ടാകുമെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നില്ലാ. അതിലേക്കുള്ള കാരണങ്ങൾ പലതുമുണ്ടു്. പൊതുജനങ്ങൾ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതും ഗവർണ്മെന്റിനോടു അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതും അവക്കു കാര്യക്ഷമതയോടും കളംകരഹിതമായും ഉള്ള പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവീ

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സു വേണമെന്നാണ്. അതിലേക്കു ഗവർണ്മെൻറു സ്വീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗനിയമന നയം പ്രതിബന്ധമായിട്ടാണു നില്ക്കുന്നതു്. വർഗ്ഗീയപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യത്തെ ആശ്രയിച്ചു ഗവർണ്മെൻറു നടത്തീട്ടുള്ള നിയമനങ്ങളുടെ ഫലമായി പബ്ലിക്കു സർവീസു് എത്രത്തോളം ഒഴിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും, കായ്ക്ഷമതക്കു് എത്രത്തോളം കുറവുവന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും, ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു മേലധികാരികളോടു രഹസ്യമായി ചോദിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനു ബോദ്ധ്യം വരുന്നതാണു്.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): രണ്ടു മൂന്നു് ഉദാഹരണമെങ്കിലും പറയാമോ?

MR. T. KUMARA PILLI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): എന്റെ പ്രസംഗം തീർന്നിട്ടു് എത്ര ഉദാഹരണം വേണമെങ്കിലും പറയാം. വർഗ്ഗീയപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യത്തെ ലാക്കാക്കിയുണ്ടാകുന്ന നിയമനങ്ങളിൽ പലതിലും കായ്ശേഷിയുടെ കുറവിനാൽ ജനങ്ങൾ അപരിമിതമായ സംകടങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിച്ചു പോരുന്ന വിവരം ഒരിക്കലും മറച്ചുവയ്ക്കാവുന്നതല്ലാ.

മിസ്റ്റർ. കുഞ്ഞിതൊമ്മന്റെ പ്രമേയവും, അതിലേക്കുള്ള അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വാദങ്ങളും കേൾക്കുമ്പോൾ അതിൽ ന്യായമുണ്ടെന്നും നിർദ്ദോഷമാണെന്നും തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നതാണു്.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *TodUPuzha*): അങ്ങിനെ മിസ്റ്റർ കുമാരപിള്ളയ്ക്കും തോന്നീട്ടുണ്ടോ?

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): അതിന്റെഫലങ്ങൾ പബ്ലിക്കു സർവീസിനെ എങ്ങിനെയെല്ലാം ഒഴിപ്പിക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതും, കായ്ക്ഷമതക്കു് എത്രത്തോളം കുറവിനെയുണ്ടാക്കി തീർക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതും പ്രത്യേകം ശ്രദ്ധിക്കേണ്ടതും പര്യാലോചിക്കേണ്ടതുമാണു്. ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിൽ ആദ്യമായുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനങ്ങളെ പറ്റി മാത്രമേ പ്രതിവാദിക്കുന്നൊള്ളു എന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഞാൻ വിസ്മരിക്കുന്നില്ലാ. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള നിയമനങ്ങൾ കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ കായ്ശേഷിയേപുരസ്കരിച്ചു് ഉദ്യോഗകയറ്റങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും അതിൽ ചിലരെ മാറ്റി നിറുത്തുന്നതായാൽ അതിന്മേൽ ഗവർണ്മെൻറിനു ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന വിഷമതകൾ ഗവർണ്മെൻറിനുതന്നെ അനുഭവസിദ്ധമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്.

വർഗ്ഗീയപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യ നയം ഗവർണ്മെൻറു സ്വീകരിച്ചതോടുകൂടി, രാജ്യത്തിന്റെയും ജനങ്ങളുടെയും നന്മയെ പുരസ്കരിച്ചു നിർമ്മിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പൊതു സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ ചോദിച്ചുവാങ്ങാനുള്ള വഴികളായി ഉപയോഗിച്ചുവരുന്നതു കൊണ്ടു് അവയുടെ മഹത്ത്വം

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[Mr. T. Kumara Pillai.]

ഉദ്ദേശങ്ങൾ നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ട പോയിരിക്കയാണ ചെയ്യുന്നത്. ഈ കാരണങ്ങളാൽ മിസ്റ്റർ. കുഞ്ഞിതൊമ്മന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ ശക്തിയോട്ടക്കുടി എതുക്കുന്നു.

Sir, may I answer Mr. Kunjitomman's questions?

PRESIDENT: But, you have resumed your seat.

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): മി: കുമാരപിള്ള ഒരു കൃസ്ത്യാനിയായിരിക്കാനും അദ്ദേഹം തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ദിവാൻപദം അലങ്കരിക്കുന്നതിനും ഭാഗ്യമുണ്ടായില്ലല്ലൊ എന്നവിചാരിച്ച ഞാൻ വളരെ ദുഃഖിക്കുന്നു. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലുള്ള മറുസമുദായങ്ങളെ അകറ്റിനിത്തി കൃസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കു ഉദ്യോഗം നൽകാനും മറുള്ള വഴ്ക്കാക്കു സമാധാനം പറയാനുമുള്ള ഏറ്റവും ഉത്തമമായ മാർഗ്ഗം അദ്ദേഹം ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചു. അദ്ദേഹത്തെപ്പോലെ ശക്തിയും ത്രാണിയുമുള്ള ഒരു കൃസ്ത്യാനി ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥൻ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലുണ്ടായിരുന്ന എങ്കിൽ കൃസ്ത്യാനിസമുദായത്തിന്റെ സങ്കടം പരിഹരിക്കപ്പെട്ട പോകുമായിരുന്നു. അതിനിടയായില്ലല്ലൊ എന്നോർത്തു ദുഃഖിക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് ഇതുവരെ ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള നിയമനങ്ങൾ കാര്യക്ഷമതയെമാത്രം നോക്കിയായിരുന്നാൽ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു സമുദായത്തിനു അതുനിമിത്തം സങ്കടം അനുഭവിക്കാൻ ഇടയായി എങ്കിൽ അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഇപ്പോൾ ദുഃഖിച്ചിട്ട് ആവശ്യമില്ല. കാര്യക്ഷമതയില്ല എന്നിരുന്നാൽ തന്നെയും എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങളോടും സമഭാവനയോടുകൂടി പെരുമാറാതെ ശക്തിയും ത്രാണിയും ഉള്ള ആളുകളായിരുന്നു നിയമിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നതെന്നിരുന്നാലും, ഓരോരുത്തക്കും സങ്കടത്തിന് അധകാശമില്ല. ഇന്ന് നാം തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ സംഗതികളെ വച്ചാണ് ആലോചിക്കുന്നത്. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലുള്ള ആളുകളേയും തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരേയും ആണ് നമ്മുടെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽ വച്ച് ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടത്. മിസ്റ്റർ എ. കെ. പിള്ള ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിച്ച ആദർശങ്ങൾ വളരെ ഉത്തമങ്ങൾ ആണ്. ഇങ്ങിനേയുള്ള ആദർശലോകത്തോടും ഇങ്ങിനേയുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗലോകത്തോടും പെരുമാറുന്ന നാം ആ പരിതസ്ഥിതിക്കനുകൂലമായ തത്വം അനുകരിച്ച പ്രവർത്തിക്കേണ്ടതുതന്നാവശ്യമാണ്. സമുദായപ്രാതിനിധ്യം എല്ലാ അവസരത്തിലും അതിന്റെ കണക്കനുസരിച്ചമാത്രം സ്വീകരിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള തത്വത്തോട് എനിക്കു വലിയ അനുകമ്പയില്ല. മിസ്റ്റർ കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മന്റെ പ്രമേയം അതേരൂപത്തിൽ സ്വീകരിച്ച് അതാതു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിൽ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞവക്കുമാത്രമെ ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കാവു എന്നുള്ള അഭിപ്രായത്തോടും എനിക്ക് അനുകൂല്യമില്ല.

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മിസ്റ്റർ കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മനെ ചീഫ് സിക്രട്ടറി മറുപടിയായി ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനവിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവർണ്മെൻറു പ്രവർത്തിക്കാൻ നിശ്ചയിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന നയത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പ്രസ്താവിച്ചു. ആ നയം മിക്കവാറും ആദരണീയങ്ങളാണെന്നാണു് എൻെറ അഭിപ്രായം. എന്നാൽ ആ ആദർശത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറു വേണ്ടതുപോലെ സ്വീകരിച്ചു പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന പക്ഷം നിശ്ചയമായിട്ടും യാതൊരു സമുദായത്തിനും സങ്കടം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നതല്ല. ഗവർണ്മെൻറു ഈ ആദർശത്തെ എല്ലായ്പ്പോഴും മനസ്സിൽ വച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നില്ലെങ്കിലും ഗവർണ്മെണ്ടിൻെറ കീഴ്സിൽബന്ധികർ ചെയ്യുന്ന പ്രവൃത്തികൾ ശരിയാണോ എന്നന്വേഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നാലുംമതി. ഈ നിലയ്ക്കു പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം അചിരേണ ഈ രാജ്യത്തു ദോഷങ്ങൾ പരിഹരിക്കപ്പെടാനും എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങളുടേയും അവകാശം സ്ഥാപിച്ചുകിട്ടാനും സാധിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള വിശ്വാസത്തോടും അതിന് ഇപ്പഴത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറു് ഉത്സാഹിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള ഈ ബോധത്തോടും കൂടി എൻെറ അഭിപ്രായത്തെ ഇവിടെ സമർപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): Sir, I must say at the very outset, that my head is stoutly opposed to the principle underlying the resolution under discussion ; but my heart agrees with it.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): May I know whether the member follows the head or the heart? (*Laughter.*)

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): My friend can ill afford to get on without either. Both head and heart are necessary in understanding a particular thing.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Why does he not attempt to set his own state in order?

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): That is what I am attempting to do and in a way I am helping others in this direction. Sir, it is really painful to allow this principle to be perpetuated, particularly in the Government service of the country. As Mr A. K. Pillai put it yesterday, the Government are more than responsible for this state of affairs. When I interrupted him with a question as to whether he approved the policy of making a distinction without any difference, he did not give an answer. To make it clear, granting there are two applicants from two communities, with identical qualifications, without the slightest difference in point of capacity and talents, if one of them were to be chosen, I understand that the officer responsible for making the choice listens to his inclinations, likes and dislikes; perhaps these things, go a great way to make the choice.

But people from outside view this entirely from a different angle; that is with distrust. Mr. A. K. Pillai said that people look upon it with a certain amount of distrust and contented himself by stopping there without making any analysis. If you analyse that, this distrust arises from previous circumstances. To put it concretely, Sir, so many appointments are being made by the Government, sometimes based

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[Mr. M. Sivatanu Pillai.]

upon most salutary principles, but more often based on dislikes and communal prejudices. It must be based upon the bed-rock of sound and salutary principle of efficiency and efficiency alone. These three things can never go together. The Government do not stick to this principle of efficiency. It is here people have a grievance. The Government were more than responsible for bringing about such a state of affairs, particularly in respect of the agitation that has been found in the country for communal representation and I am wondering how Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman left out another variety of representation, *viz.*, representation to the Legislative Council and the Popular Assembly. So. I think, if the Government will be persuaded by the principle of efficiency, I feel Sir, that a great amount of distrust now prevailing in the country could have been removed. So long as we are in this state of affairs, there must be found some solution to get out of the way. It is there my heart comes in. It is a fact, Sir, that as Mr. Piraviperumal Pillai said, certain communities are extremely dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. As you yourself remarked, there are certain other reasons, apart from qualifications, which persuade the Government finally to choose the applicants, such as bearing and the spirit in which applicants answer questions. Certainly, I do admit the principle as well as the implication underlying it. It is here we find that officers have been misled. If they keep themselves free from all prejudices, likes and dislikes, people's grievances will be mitigated. But they do not. In order to avoid this, in order to satisfy the legitimate demands on the part of the people, it is better that the Government put their head very seriously into the question and find a proper solution to the whole trouble. To my mind, the solution is some what simple. The public service may be split into two broad divisions – one, superior service and the other, subordinate service. In the matter of superior service, say, for example, in the Judicial Department, and posts of heads of departments, should be filled exclusively basing their choice upon the principle of efficiency and efficiency alone; and in the matter of subordinate service, all the heads of departments with the head of the administration must constitute a Staff Selection Board and sit up and examine each and every single appointment. I mean by subordinate service, officers immediately below their heads of departments—and see here also whether efficiency could be given a prominent place. So, Sir, I think this will be a temporary palliative for getting out of the trouble. If you adopt Mr. A. K. Pillai's policy, I think we will be nowhere. We will be dreaming in the wonderland. We have to face the realities and try to give a solution for this problem. This problem is not quite new to our State. This problem has been prevailing in a very virulent form in the State for the last several years. So, Sir, it will be better on the part of the Government to try and find some sort of solution for themselves at the same time, not at all ignoring the principle of efficiency in the matter of making appointments. With these few words, as I said before, I support the principle, at present, underlying the resolution.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): Sir, I wish to add a few observations to the discussion in connection with this resolution. I say, Sir-

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that I am in entire agreement with the principles laid down by the Chief Secretary. The Government have been, time and again, laying down certain principles for the acceptance of this House and, with regard to these broad propositions, every one of us are agreed. But the difference of opinion on this side of the House is with regard to the carrying out of those principles. Though the Devaswoms have been separated from the Revenue Department, for the last five years there has always been a cry from the unrepresented non-caste Hindus that they do not get sufficient representation in the Revenue Department. During the budget discussion, this question was discussed threadbare and we came almost to the unanimous conclusion that the Government will seriously consider the matter of direct recruitment to the lower ranks in the Revenue Department. Sir, the Revenue Department is coveted not merely for the pay. To the people in the villages, the *Proverthikar* is a great officer; he is considered to be the *Adhikari*. Especially in the preparation of electoral rolls, settlement of *poramboke* disputes, and settlement of *puduval* cases he plays a large part. In these affairs, the *Proverthikar* has an all absorbing influence. So, the appointment of Proverthikars is at the root of the agitation in the Revenue Department. Such being the case, we tried our best at the budget discussion to see how it is possible for the non-caste Hindus to come into the Revenue Department. We did not say that communal representation should be accepted in all its bearings. Direct recruitment of *Proverthikars* was suggested. But the Government said that they would work hardship on the accountants already employed, though eventually they accepted the principle to some extent. Mr. Robinson said that he would take the matter up for early consideration. Though it is about five or six months, I do not know if any *Proverthikar* has been drafted directly from the unrepresented communities. Looking at the figures, I fear that the principles have been observed more in the breach than in their observance. So I once more urge that, in consonance with the hopes held out by the Government, they should call for a statement of appointments made by all heads of departments, especially Dewan Peishkars, and see whether they have been following the principles laid down by the Government in respect of appointments. If anybody has been found slack or favouring any one particular community, an explanation must be taken from him and the officer should be severely dealt with.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum cum Neduvangad*): Has he got any complaint against the Christian Dewan Peishkar?

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): I am not aware.

Now, with regard to the particular denomination to which I belong it has been brought to the notice of the House that, according to the classification given, the Syrian Christians are divided into four groups, I might say that the Jacobite community, to which I belong, is not sufficiently represented in any branch of the service. I press that point once more to the attention of the Government, to see if any help could be rendered to that community in the matter of appointments.

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): (Speaking very low)

PRESIDENT: There was not a word which was audible here and consequently could not find a place in the official record.

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MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): My friend has been interpellating me as to whether I am aware of the appointments given for Jacobite Christians in the lower ranks of the Excise and Police Departments. There are about ten or twelve Excise peons and five or six policemen appointed as a result of my cry during the budget discussion. I would request the authorities to consider whether this community which forms one of the most important sections of the Syrian Christian community has got its legitimate right in regard to appointments. With these observations, I resume my seat.

MR A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution moved by Mr. Kunjitomman. This subject has been discussed on various occasions in this Council and the Government have accepted the principle contained in the resolution. That the Government have accepted the principle of communal representation could be seen from the various circulars and orders issued by the Government. From a perusal of the statistics supplied by the Government to the various interpellations, it could be seen that the situation has not improved to any extent. Take, for example, the Land Revenue Department. The total number of acting appointments made in 1098 and 1099 in the Department was 257, of which the number of Christians was only 26. The number of Catholics among them is not even half a dozen. The number of Ezhavas was eleven and that of Mahomedans only two. It could be seen from the Council Proceedings that there were several applicants from these communities, though Mr. Robinson used to say he is very anxious to give due representation to all communities.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): May I know whether the Ezhava community has any grievance against the Police and the Land Revenue Departments?

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): I think they have got a grievance. That is what I find from the interpellations asked in the Council.

Another department which does not give sufficient attention to the orders of Government in this matter is the Education Department. The total number of hands in the English branch of the Department is 831 and the number of Catholics is only 24, whereas, the number of Brahmins is 396. In spite of this glaring inequality, the Director and the Inspector of English Schools do not think it worth while to appoint some men from communities such as Catholics, Ezhavas, Mahomedans and others which are very poorly represented.

In the Secretariat, the total number of permanent officers is 142 and the number of Catholics, including Syrians and Latinites, is only 4, and of the 39 acting hands only 2 are Catholics. In 1098, 25 acting appointments were made, of which only one is a Catholic. In 1099, 15 acting appointments were made, of which only 2 are Catholics. In 1100, 5 acting appointments were made, of which no one is a Catholic. In 1098, the number of permanent appointments was 7, of which the number of Catholics is zero. In 1099, the number was 3, of which no one is a Catholic In 1100, the number of permanent appointments

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was 14, out of which one alone is a Catholic. From these figures, it could be seen that in the Secretariat itself the principle is not adhered to in practice.

In the Medical Department, during 1100 to 1101, 13 hands were appointed carrying a salary of Rs. 50 and above and, I am sorry to say, no Catholic had the good fortune to be one among them.

In the Co-operative Department, though there were 20 Inspectors, according to statistics dated 20th August 1926, no one is a Catholic. The Government have admitted that to start Co-operative Societies, it will be more advisable to have men of their own communities as Inspectors.

The situation in the other Departments also is not different.

Thus, it could be seen that in spite of so many circulars and orders of the Government, the condition has not improved. Why is it? Th reasons according to me may be grouped under 3 heads. (1) The Government have no definite policy in the matter of recruitment and they have not laid down any strict rule for the guidance of their officers. (2) Even if the officers do not adhere to this principle, the Government will not take any action against them except calling their attention to the order. (3) There is the unwillingness on the part of the Government to publish a quarterly caste-war statement of the appointments made by the officers with their explanations, if any, for not adhering to this principle.

So, what I submit is that the Government should lay down certain definite principles and must insist upon the officers carrying on those principles.

Now, some people say that efficiency should be the only basis in the matter of recruitment. Nobody denies that the Government should not look to efficiency. But in Travancore, efficiency has got peculiar meanings in each and every department. The head of the departmen generally finds efficiency only in men belonging to his particular community. Everybody knows that efficiency is not the monopoly any particular community and this can be very well established by the fact that members of one particular community which appear to be very efficient to one head of department do not appear to be so in th eyes of another head of department. The Government say that communal representation will be allowed only for initial recruitmen and not for promotions. I am at a loss to understand how this effic ency can be tested when men having the necessary qualifications appea before an officer for appointment. It is a device suggested by some interested persons to refuse the lawful demands of the communities which are not properly represented. My submission therefore is that the Government should seriously consider to solve the problem by laying down a definite policy in the matter of appointments. With these few words, I support the resolution.

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MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): Sir, the Government's position, as explained in the reply given by the Chief Secretary to Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman's repeated representations on the subject of commuual representation, is on the whole acceptable. The need for this resolution arose only because the various communities who have had grievances in the matter have found that the general principle has not been actually carried out in practice. As has been observed by several speakers, and supported by statistics supplied by the Government in answer to interpellations, justice has not been meted out to the various unrepresented communities in the allotment of appointments, and the Government, I regret to say, have not been keen enough to make their displeasure against such officers felt by them. If the Government are in dead earnest about the principles that have been laid down and insist that they should be carried out, I am sure more improvement could have been effected by this time. It is now more than three or four years since the Government publicly accepted that principle and interpellations have been made in this Council and statements have been supplied which show how weak is the position of various heads of departments in this matter. Although it might be said that actual reform in such matters cannot be done in a short time, what I submit is that we have had enough time to adjust things and, by this time we could have found more improvement. I would repeat what Mr. K. K. Thomas said in regard to recruitment of *Proverthikars*. Now, the Government, during the course of the budget discussion promised that they would devise some scheme whereby direct recruitment to the posts of *Proverthikars* could be made. As far as we know, nothing has been done in that direction yet.

MR K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Did the Government make a promise ?

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): Yes, they did make a definite promise. I hope that, at least before the next budget discussion, we shall be in a position to know what the Government have done in that matter. The fact that the number of *Proverthikars* belonging to the unrepresented classes is so few has been a source of real grievance to them. Those communities have to suffer a lot on this account in connection with the preparation of electoral rolls. I hope the Government will not cause any delay in redressing this grievance. It has been said that, in the matter of public service, efficiency ought to be the only guidance. Now, on an examination of the history of public service in Travancore, it is seen that at the time when no question of communal representation came up for serious consideration before the Government, the officers were remarkable for their efficiency. Sir, it is a matter that must be accepted on all hands that, because the Government have accepted the principle of communal representation, it does

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not at all mean that they should give up efficiency. I am sure that, in choosing men for the public service, efficiency as well as communal representation can be made to work together without serious hitch. It is also a notorious fact that it happens that when the head of the department belongs to a particular community members of his community are found to be efficient while members of other communities are not found efficient.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): In which department do you find such inconsistency?

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): I am speaking generally.

When such a state of affairs is found again and again, we cannot be blamed if we raise the question whether heads of departments are guided by considerations of efficiency or by any other interest. The heads of departments should be made to follow the general principles laid down by Government and the Government should make those authorities feel their displeasure in some tangible form whenever they go against the principle.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): Has there been a fall in the character of heads of departments recently?

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): As far as I know, there has been an improvement in the character of the service.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): I am asking about the heads of departments.

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): On the whole, I should say that there is an improvement in that line also.

With these words, although I do not support entirely the proposition before the House, I would support the general principle contained in the resolution.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I am sorry, Sir, that in partaking in this discussion, I have not had the advantage of hearing that portion of it which transpired yesterday. On this question of communal representation, so far as I can see, two propositions can be laid down safely. That is, first, the fact of birth of any particular individual in any one particular community should not stand in the way of his being employed in the service of the State. Probably, the converse of it also holds good. The *factum* of birth of any one individual in any one particular community should not be a qualification for his appointment in Government service. These two propositions, I think, may be safely laid down and, beyond that, to attempt to formulate principles for the guidance of the appointing authority can at best be pious hopes which would be rather difficult to comply with. But the question may be whether these two fundamental principles are closely adhered to. If these are not closely adhered to, considerable mischief is likely to result from the employment of people in State service. If any person considers that his appointment in the State service is due directly or indirectly to the fact that he belongs to any one particular community, if he is conscious of that special feature, human nature

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being what it is, he must certainly consider himself somehow or other bound to his community for the ladder by which he rose. It is equally painful to see a person excluded from the State service for the pure accident of his being born in a particular community. On the basis of the fact that people have been born in particular communities, certain distinctions are made in the matter of appointments in the State service. I would submit that there we are encouraging a very vicious principle. The doings of such employees, if closely analysed, would reveal a very unhealthy state of affairs. But the Government themselves lend support to such encouragement and such instances are invidious as has been hinted by a previous speaker. There was a statement by the Chief Secretary, which can never be forgotten, to the effect that, in the matter of appointment of Inspectors in the Co-operative Department in Tiruvalla, Christian officers ought to be appointed.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): May I ask the member when that statement was made?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): In answer to a certain interpellation.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): The member is wrong. No such statement was made.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I think the reply was that Christian officers *ought to be* appointed or *were* appointed.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): No such statement was made.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I do not recall what exactly the Chief Secretary said. That was the spirit of his reply anyhow.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): No mention of any place was made. That is also not a fact.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): ആകെ എത്ര ക്രിസ്ത്യൻകൊവാപ്പറേറീവ് ഇൻസ്പെക്ടർമാരുണ്ടെന്നു പറയാമോ?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): That has nothing to do with this matter.

I mentioned Tiruvalla. Probably, that is a mistake. Anyhow, what the Chief Secretary did was to support that principle of action that the people for whose benefit these Inspectors were appointed were people who would be ready only to follow the advice of the Christian officers. That is what he said, if I recollect it correctly. If that principle is to be employed on an extensive scale, may I ask whether the Government would be willing to appoint only Nayar officers where there are very many Nayars, or Mahomedan officers in places where Mahomedan preponderate? If such a partition of the State into various communities

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is to be made, I can understand the application of a principle like that. It was one of the most unfortunate pronouncements made on that occasion by the Chief Secretary.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): Was that statement made with respect to appointments where co-operation of the people is necessary?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I do not understand him.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): In the case of co-operation and other things, people must be convinced of the necessity. The Inspectors must be able to convince them. The people must be taken along with the Government.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): In all matters, I think, people must be taken along with the Government. I cannot understand why the Co-operative Department alone should be supposed to be intended for the people. The judiciary also is for the people.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): May I ask the member whether any other department requires propaganda?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): Various departments.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): Will he mention one department?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): Public health.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): Is the member aware that there was a rule that Hindus alone should be appointed for offices in Vaikam?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I am not aware.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): There was a rule.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I am thankful to my friend for the information carried to me, if it is correct.

The principle of communal representation is a very dangerous principle which would create all manner of complications in the working of the Government machinery.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): Is Mr. Narayana Pillai aware that there is an order that co-operative societies should not be registered on communal basis?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): That is what I have heard. But my friends say that it is not so.

I am submitting, therefore, that a principle of that description, which the Government had no difficulty in proclaiming in undisguised words, is a very dangerous principle. It is the neighbourliness, the friendship and the cordiality of the different communities that has to be brought about by the Government. Once any one particular community is given to understand that they can call the tune as they please and the Government are prepared to yield, I beg to submit, Sir, that that music is likely to be repeated by other communities to the considerable discomfiture of those who are responsible for the administration of the State.

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MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Is the member aware that the High Court has been accepting the principle of communal representation in the matter of recruitment of Munsiffs from the bar?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): There is no principle, as far as I know. But they give a chance to all by rotation.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Is it not communal representation?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): What is the basis of those appointments?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): The basis is to give chance to the various communities without sacrificing the principle of efficiency.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Will the member please tell me whether any rule has been laid down to that effect?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): No rule has been laid down. It is an unwritten rule.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): Will the member please say whether there was any such rule in the Revenue Department?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): When?

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): Till lately.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): Till lately, there was no such rule, as far as I am aware.

Therefore, to give encouragement to such principles on the strength of this accident of communal connection is not an acceptable principle. But I am equally emphatic upon the other aspect of the question. Because a man is born in any particular community, that the door to Government service should be closed against him, is equally unsatisfactory. These are the two principles that I would bring to the notice of this House. The Government should be guided by a satisfactory blending of the two principles. As it is, the action of the Government and also the particular statement of the Chief Secretary, that I referred to, have given room for an impression abroad that the Government would do certain things for particular communities on the ground of the fancied past injury done to them. I do not know on what basis that particular principle is put. That has given room to various awkward situations. Sir, if a commission were to be appointed and the doings of some of the officers who think that they have had the advantage of certain appointments and promotions, because they belonged to certain communities, are examined, many awkward doings may be brought to light. Occasionally, I read the judgments of certain judicial officers which could only be explicable on the very deep colour that they receive because of communal connection. I am very sorry to make that observation. But it has appeared to me like that. And such judgments have been corrected by the highest judiciary. I am submitting, therefore, that this proposition of Mr. Kunjitomman which says that, provided there is the minimum educational qualification, preference should be given to certain people, is a proposition with which I cannot reconcile myself. That is all that I have to say.

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MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): Sir, the question of representation in the public service has been so repeatedly brought up for discussion in this House that all other issues vitally affecting the general public would, in the opinion of this Council, seem to fall into comparative insignificance. Any stranger following the proceedings of the House would go away with the impression that the politics in this country is confined to a comparative examination of the number of peons and accountants and clerks in the public service with reference to a few artificial subdivisions adopted to suit the fancies or expediency of the authorities concerned, from time to time. It is a sickening spectacle indeed to see member after member rising from their seats during the Budget Session not to discuss the policy underlying the financial estimates as affecting the general weal, but insisting upon direct recruitment as *Proverthikars* or Magistrates, persons belonging to this or that community with special reference, of course, to the community to which the member has the honour to belong. It would appear that the members concerned represent not the country's interests in general, but only particular communities or subdivisions of a community. They think and talk in terms of narrow communalism and they ignore the larger issues which alone can and ought to weigh in the making of a progressive and efficient administration.

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): Does he think that, if communal justice is meted out, it will indirectly help forward the general prosperity of the people and that, on the other hand, a feeling of communal injustice will adversely affect the general prosperity of the people?

MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): My point is that a Government with a representative institution constituted of respectable members as representatives of the people should never care for communal recognition. They should have only one object in view, that is the welfare of the people. Public service is mainly intended for the common good of the people at large.

This tendency has grown intense during recent years and it is the duty of this House which is expected to represent the nation and not particular classes or communities to rise equal to the occasion and record its downright opposition to all factors that may tend to disintegrate the national forces and undermine the essentials of popular Government.

I must concede that Government are to blame for bringing about this state of affairs. They have been directly and indirectly encouraging this agitation by their conduct and declarations. When once an unjust claim is put forward, they ought to have the courage to set their face against such claims, however powerful and vociferous the agitators may be. I must assure the House that, unless we correctly diagnose the situation and administer the proper remedy and at the proper time, our representative institutions are bound to be a dismal failure and a curse to the country and the national interests. Of late, Sir, it is deplorable that questions having no communal aspect were being judged

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apparently on a communal basis. Can demoralisation go a degree higher than that? Is that the way in which we carry out the trust reposed in us by the country? Are we not betraying the best interests of the country for the sake of satisfying a narrow, selfish and ruinous principle?

Let us examine the resolution as it stands. If the minimum educational qualifications are satisfied, it is said, you should select the members of the less represented community. In the first place, granting the principle enunciated herein, how are we to judge as to who is represented more or less than another? In the several departments, you will easily notice a great preponderance of one community over another. Is it that the representation should go by departments in the public service, or public service as a whole? If it is a case of departmental representation, suppose the higher grades are more than adequately represented by a particular community, is it the case of the mover of the resolution that the lower rungs should be evenly represented? With reference to what grades or posts in a particular department should the Government determine the proportion? With reference to how many subdivisions should the proportion be fixed? These, if logically pursued, will lead you on to absurd and ludicrous results. As to the principle itself, it is highly immoral and unjust, besides being opposed to public interests and public expediency. Why should you not select the best men available irrespective of the caste or community to which they belong? When you pursue this question further, you will be led to conclude that those who advocate the principle of communal representation would seem to imply that public servants belonging to particular sections are expected to be partial towards the members of the class or community to which they belong. If you put in a Magistrate of one class, he is congratulated by his section and he takes it as a favour shown to his community. Is it really so? Is he not expected to hold the scales even? If so, where is the particular gratification for one section alone? The very implications of such special treatment smack of corruption and jobbery and in public interests it is dangerous for any decent Government to encourage or tolerate such expectations. As Mr. George rightly put it, the service exists for the public and not for any community and, so long as Government do not exclude any particular person from the service on the ground he belongs to a particular community, this House has to be satisfied and should insist upon the greatest possible efficiency being secured for the money spent on the services.

It has been urged here that particular appointments will be pleasing to members of particular communities. They should be pleasing not to a section of the people, but to the people as a whole. The general taxpayer belonging to the Nayar community is not benefited by an individual Nayar being appointed to a particular post. The appointment should be regarded in relation to the State as a whole and not in relation to the community to which the person appointed belongs. Pecuniarily and

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personally, that individual and not that community is benefited. So also, by his efficient, honest work the State and not any particular community is benefited. Then, where is the morality in the fight now put forward by the mover of the resolution? We want a bold and courageous Government to step in fearlessly and openly declare that appointments are not earmarked in this country for the dullards and incompetents belonging to particular communities, but to the brightest and fittest among the people as a whole to whichever community they may belong. No halting or apologetic tone should be resorted to in this matter and a quietus will be given to this unwholesome agitation which is sapping every day the very vitals of our national solidarity.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): Is the member aware that a large majority of the people of Travancore is for communal representation?

MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): I am not aware. I have known that some representatives of this House are for it.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): Is the member aware that the members are trying to show to the Government from the castewar statements furnished to the House that certain officers are not doing this properly?

MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): I have seen only some members of this House advocating communal representation.

PRESIDENT: Will you kindly tell me what is meant by 'castewar' statement, Mr. John? Is it a war between castes? I do not know the meaning of 'castewar' statement.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): It means a statement of appointments made, according to castes.

PRESIDENT: Do the Government supply *caste-war* statements?

MR. T. P. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Secretary to Government*): Government give only statements of appointments made, according to castes.

PRESIDENT: Mr. John, I only want to know from you what you mean by a *caste-war* statement.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): When members ask the Government for caste-war statements, the Government usually supply us a list of appointments made, according to castes.

PRESIDENT: Anyhow, I cannot understand it. It is some language which you and the Secretariat apparently understand.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): The question of recruitment to the public service in a country where there exist different communities is really one difficult of solution. Everyone can understand that in the matter of appointments to public service, considerations of efficiency should stand predominent. But, in their practical application, the question arises whether we can do away with communal considerations altogether. In accordance with representations made by the people, Government have been gradually adopting the policy of communal representation without at the same time sacrificing efficiency. This attitude of Government in the matter of communal representation is, under the present conditions of the country, really acceptable. Some

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members were speaking that efficiency should be the sole consideration of Government in making recruitments to the public service. But I cannot understand how far it is workable under present conditions of this country. In western countries where there do not exist different communities and castes, with diverse interests, the adoption of this principle alone may be good. But the lessons that we have studied from western politics may not be exactly applicable to the needs of our country. For example I may refer to the Revenue Department. Till recently, the Revenue Department was completely closed to certain sections of the people. Those who are now speaking of efficiency as the sole qualification found efficiency only in the favoured classes then. All those who now speak about the higher interests of the public and public service, sat completely quiet and never spoke a word that the Revenue Department should be thrown open to all classes. Only those who felt the grievance and injustice fought for it.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chi ayinkil*) : May I know whether any community has stood in the way of communal agitation when certain communities made that agitation ?

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*) : I did not say they stood in their way. I was saying that only those communities that really suffer make any agitation. The others can well afford to be indifferent.

So, what I say is that, considering the present conditions of the country, we cannot ignore this principle of communal representation altogether. The Government also have to a certain extent accepted this principle. The answer of the Chief Secretary to the mover of this Resolution shows how far the Government have accepted the principle. But I say the Government have not gone sufficiently far in this matter. The first two principles laid down by the Government are quite welcome to all.

They are :

"(1) No one will be ineligible for admission to the public service on the ground that he belongs to a particular community.

(2) Equal opportunities will be given to all communities for admission to the service.

These two principles are really wholesome. But coming to the third and fifth, I may say there is considerable difference of opinion. This is the third principle :—

"(3) Other things being equal, preference will be given to unrepresented and poorly represented communities."

I fail to understand what the Government mean by "other things being equal". If the Government had stated definitely what the "other things" are, one could understand that. Mr. John has shown ample illustration that, in spite of these principles, great injustice has been done to certain communities. It may be that the Government were taking shelter under the term "other things being equal". These may perhaps be caste, colour or age or even the existence of god-fathers in necessary

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quarters. One cannot definitely understand what the Government really mean by "other things". There is no definiteness about this rule. I may illustrate this by an example. For a vacancy of a Tutor in a college, for which training is not ordinarily considered to be a qualification, one of the applicants may be a B. A., L. T. and the other an M. A. The Government may prefer the L. T. or M. A. applicant as it pleases them irrespective of any communal claims and take shelter under the provision stated above, *viz.*, other things being not equal. This shows that, under the existing provisions, the Government may disregard the rules wherever they wish to do so. The Government without any regard for the real intentions of those who made those rules are trying to take shelter under this general clause. It is the duty of Government, therefore, to say definitely what they mean by the "other things" that are required for appointments. If they mean superior educational qualifications, they should state so clearly.

The 5th rule laid down by the Government is as follows:—

"Even in the case of these groups, representation in the service will be based more on the number of qualified hands available and willing to take up appointments in each group than on its numerical strength"

This is a principle which I believe is not at all wholesome, when once the principle of communal representation is accepted. In answer to certain questions put by Mr. Kunjitomman, the Chief Secretary himself said that it was impossible to act justly in acting up to this rule. This may be illustrated by taking the case of Pulayas. Suppose there are 100 qualified Brahmins in the State and there is only one Pulaya. If appointments are to be made in the proportion of the number of educated persons, for every 100 posts given to the Brahmins, only one Pulaya will be appointed. This will not at all satisfy the considerations underlying the principle of communal representation. So, the question is not to be considered from the number of qualified persons, but the total population of the community concerned; otherwise, there will not be any benefit done to the suffering community. So, the present rule in this matter has to be modified. If the Government have accepted the principle of communal representation in making appointments, they have to take into consideration the total population of the community concerned and not merely the number of qualified hands.

These are the two important points that I would request the Government to pay attention to. As regards the term "initial appointments", some people seem to entertain some difficulty. Mr. Raman Menon was referring to the appointments of Mr. C. O. Madhavan and Mr. Mathan and was saying that these were against the rule that communal considerations apply only to initial appointments. So far as I understand, a transfer from one department to another, otherwise than in due course of promotion, may be considered as a sort of initial appointment in the latter. Initial appointments do not mean appointments in the lowest ranks alone. The Government have to explain what they mean by 'initial appointment' to avoid all possible misunderstanding. This difficulty may arise in the case of recruitments as District and High Court Judges from among the Sirkar Vakils, Law College Professors, etc.

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Coming to the resolution itself, I fully agree with some of the members that the wording of the resolution is not quite happy. What I understand from Mr. Kunjitomman and his speech is that he wants to bring into consideration the claims of poorly represented communities. The wording as it stands means that, till all the communities come to a level, all further appointments from the forward communities have to be stopped. So far as the wording of the resolution goes, one may find it difficult to support it. But since the object of it is that the claims of less represented communities should be considered, I support the resolution in its general spirit without agreeing in all the details.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Sir, almost all the points with regard to this communal representation have been dealt with by various members of this House. Therefore, by way of giving expression to my opinion in this particular matter, I am not going to add any point in addition to those that have been dealt with already. But, from the speech of some of the members, I am made to understand that they were more or less satisfied with the principles laid down by the Chief Secretary, with regard to the principle accepted by the Government in this matter of communal representation and also with the list supplied by the Government under which the various communities in the State are arranged. I stand up here simply to tell the Council that that list and those principles should not be allowed to go without at least a word of challenge from at least a single member of this House.

With regard to my opinion of communal representation, I have expressed it on a previous occasion. I am opposed to it, on the whole. But the way in which the various communities are arranged under different heads is not at all satisfactory. Even if the Government will come down and say that they accept the principle of communal representation, that does not mean that the list under which the various communities are arranged is very satisfactory. If the Government accept the principle of communal representation, they must come down with a clear statement to that effect. All right, this is the population according to the main classes. According to the Census Report, there will be something like twenty five lakhs of Hindus, Mahomedans form only a minority. Then come thirteen or twelve lakhs of Christians. If the communal representation is accepted by the Government, all offices should be distributed according to that number. They should say "All right, distribute twenty five to Hindus, twelve to Christians and two posts to the other minor communities". Therefore, in spite of the spirit in which some of the members in this House have spoken on this resolution of communal representation, I have to express it in a more straight-forward way that it is something like a commercial smuggling. In the name of unrepresented and minority communities, some of the members of this House come and bring big resolutions on the basis of communal representation. Sir, if you take the population of Hindus, out of the twenty five lakhs, there will be something like seven lakhs of Nayars and six and odd lakhs of

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Ezhavas. Who represents other communities here? The Nayars may be satisfied if they are given seven appointments; the Ezhavas may be satisfied if they are given six appointments, but who represents the other communities, for example, the minority communities under the main division of Hindus, such as Chakkala, Pandari and Vanian? Nobody is representing them.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): അവർ ഓരോരുത്തരും ഇപ്രകാരം പ്രാതിനിധ്യം വേണമെന്ന് ഗവർണ്മെന്റിനോട് അപേക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): I am representing them now.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): എല്ലാവരുടെയും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം മി. നീലകണ്ഠപിള്ള യ്ക്കുണ്ടോ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Yes, I am representing my constituency and I say my constituency contains Chakkalas, Pandarics, Nayars, Vanians, etc.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): ഓരോ വർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കും പ്രത്യേകം പ്രാതിനിധ്യം വേണമെന്ന് അവർ മിസ്റ്റർ നീലകണ്ഠപിള്ളയോട് അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): I am not expressing my individual opinion. I am expressing the opinion of my constituency. My individual opinion is against any sort of communal representation. But, from the trend of the speeches made by some of the members of this House, I understand them to say that the Government have come down with an offer that they have accepted the principle of communal representation. Then, I ask the question why not subdivide the Hindu community into several main divisions and accept that principle with regard to each and every subdivision of that community? That is my question. Therefore, what I say is that some of the big communities or communities which have got half a dozen representatives in this House, may make a clamour about the principle of communal representation and the Government may be prepared to offer some posts to them so that they may be satisfied. From that, the Government should not be under the impression that these small communites which are not represented here are satisfied with that.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Is he aware that, for the first time in the history of Travancore, communal representation was introduced by the Nayars, some thirty-five years ago?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): I am very doubtful. I was not born thirty five years ago. (*Laughter.*)

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): മെഡിക്കൽ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെന്റിൽ നായന്മാർ കുറവാണെന്നും, അവർക്ക് കൂടുതൽ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം വേണമെന്നും, മി. നീലകണ്ഠപിള്ള വാദിക്കയുണ്ടായോ?

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MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*) : I did not. I challenge Mr. Kunjithomman to quote the passage. The member before putting a question should read what happens here.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*) : ഏതെങ്കിലും ബഡ്ഡറ്റ്യോഗത്തിൽ വാദിക്കയുണ്ടായോ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*) : Not, in my life, as a member of this House. Again Mr. Kunjitomman asked which is the community which has wanted to be represented. I must tell the member that outside this House, there is not much talk about communal representation, and hardly any fight as to the principle of communal representation in public service.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*) : മി. നീലകണ്ഠപ്പിള്ള മെഡിക്കൽ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ വഗ്ഗം തിരിച്ചുള്ള പട്ടിക ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*) : May be ; I might have asked. Yes, I even told the Deputy President on that occasion there was a loud clamour for communal representation, but I am not in favour of that. I do not know whether any community has a right to be satisfied with its representation in every branch of public service.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*) : മെഡിക്കൽ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിൽ നായന്മാരുടെ സംഖ്യ കുറവാണെന്നു കാണിക്കാനാണോ അങ്ങിനെ ഒരു ലിസ്റ്റ് ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടത്?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayikil*) : No, certainly not. It is simply to make members like Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman understand that there is no community in Travancore which is very much satisfied with its representation in every branch of the department. The Nayars may complain that they are not properly represented in a particular branch of the service. In the same way, every community will come in in regard to some particular branch of service. Therefore, what I say is there is no genuine feeling underlying this resolution. If that is the case, who represents the other communities who are not before this House ? Therefore, what I say is that simply by giving vent to feelings, in the name of some communities which have no voice in this House, some other communities are going to make a gain out of this representation. That should not be the attitude of the Government. For example, the Syrian Christians have been divided into several groups. Some of these minor communities came into existence very recently. If the Government is going to subdivide the Christians under these minor heads, why not subdivide the Nayar community ? There is the Nayar Service Society, the Sankara Mission and similar other organisations which have separately grouped themselves. They must be given separate heading and separately represented in the Public Service. Apart from these, there is the Araya Samajam.

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MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Are they demanding such a representation ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): I demand.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Are *they* demanding ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Why should they demand ? It is a question of justice. If you fight for justice, it should be for all communities. If you fight for your own community, then, that question does not arise.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): If some of the sub-sects are satisfied to consider themselves as Nayars, why should Mr. Nilakanta Pillai complain about it ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): The real Nayars would not agree to such a thing, that is what I say.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Has any representation been made by those sub-sects to the Government ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): I am representing them.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Has he represented this fact till now ?

MR. K P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Previous to this, there was no occasion even to talk on the question of communal representation. I am availing myself of the opportunity to represent the minor communities now. What I submit is that it is impossible even if the Government accept the communal representation to give an exhaustive list of the several communities and divide them under minor heads. If it is impossible, then the Government should give up that list; if they accept the principle, all right, accept it for the main divisions of the population of Travancore, for example, Christians, Hindus and other communities. If you divide the main communities under different small groups, I think it will be injustice to some of the other communities which are not represented in this House.

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): ഉദ്യോഗനിയമന വിഷയത്തിൽ ഒരു പരീക്ഷ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തി അതിൽ ഒന്നാമതായി ജയിക്കുന്നവർക്ക് ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കുന്നതായിരുന്നാൽ നന്നായിരിക്കയില്ലേ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): I think our people are becoming more and more weak on account of these ridiculous examinations and I do not want to subject them to further examinations. (*Laughter.*)

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനുള്ള അപേക്ഷകന്മാരിൽ കൂടുതൽ പരീക്ഷായോഗ്യതയുള്ള ആളിനെ നിയമിച്ചാൽ മെച്ചം തോന്നിയാകുമോ?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): No.

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MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): ഏതു തരത്തിൽ ഉദ്യോഗ നിയമനം നടത്തിയാലാണ് മെമ്പർക്കു തൃപ്തിയാവുക?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): That is too general a question which I cannot satisfactorily answer. For example, for a clerk's post in the Excise Department, the head of the department may be satisfied with a Matriculate. A "B. A." may apply. Is that the standard to be applied there? He wants only a Matriculate. He must be allowed to choose among the Matriculate applicants.

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): യാതൊരുവ്യവസ്ഥയും ഉദ്യോഗ നിയമനത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നാണോ മെമ്പറുടെ അഭി പ്രായം?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Yes. There must be some broad principles which are to be adopted in the public service of the State. Some members on this side of the House said that efficiency must be the guide.

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): എഫിഷ്യൻസി എങ്ങിനെയാ ണ് നിശ്ചയിക്കുന്നത്?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): If the member wants me to add to it, I will say character also must be considered in the matter of appointments and promotions.

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): അറിയുന്നതെങ്ങിനെയാണ്?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): There is the minimum qualification laid down. That will be sufficient.

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): മിനിമം ക്വാളിഫിക്കേഷൻ ഉള്ളവരിൽ പലരും അപേക്ഷിച്ചാൽ അതിൽ ആക്കാണം കൊടുക്കേണ്ട തു?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): The member is speaking in regard to initial appointments. And the Government have come down, and considered not only this communal representation, but various other things. I will tell the member, for example, that one or two months back, some eight or nine Police Inspectors were recruited. It was not the principle of communal representation that was applied here. On the other hand, I think all the communities were represented and there was no grievance to anybody. Examination qualifications were considered and so many other things. Therefore, we can believe in the Government and the Government will look after the various things which must be considered before a particular person is appointed to a particular post.

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): Does the member remember that that was done by the Dewan?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): I do not know who did it. Let anybody do it. That is what I think and if the member

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wants me to add, character also must be added in the matter of promotions. There is an uproar in the country that some of the officers are corrupt and the public are made to understand that these officers have put up something like a label over every appointment indicating that such and such appointments carry so many rupees. Therefore, in the matter of giving promotions also, this principle of communal representation should not be considered. The character of the officer must be considered and not whether he belongs to this or that community. Otherwise, public service will suffer. With these words, I oppose the resolution,

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): Does the member think then that the Government have committed a folly?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Yes, I have said so.

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Does the member think—

PRESIDENT. He has resumed his seat.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): എന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ ചിലരെല്ലാം എതിർക്കയും ചിലർ അനുകൂലിക്കയും ചെയ്തുകഴിഞ്ഞു. ഈ പ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചതിന്റെ ആവശ്യകതയെപ്പറ്റി ഇതിനെ എതിർത്തവരോട് കുറച്ചു സമാധാനം പറയേണ്ടതാണല്ലോ.

ഒന്നാമതായി ചീഫ് സിക്രിട്ടറിഅവർകൾ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിലടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്ന തത്വത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു എന്നു പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. അതൊരുവിധം സമാധാനകരം തന്നെയാണ്. എന്നാൽ ഈ തത്വം ഇതിനുമുമ്പും ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് സമ്മതിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതാണു. അതിന്റെ ശേഷം പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞവഗ്ഗക്കാരെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ നിയമിക്കണമെന്നു കാണിച്ചും മുമ്പ് അതുവിധമുള്ള ഒരാജ്ഞയെ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറ് മേലദ്ധ്യക്ഷന്മാർ അനാദരിക്കാതെ പ്രാതിനിധ്യമുള്ളവരെത്തന്നെ നിയമിച്ചതിന് അവരോട് സമാധാനം ചോദിക്കുന്ന രൂപത്തിലും ഒരു പ്രൊസീഡിംഗ്സ് ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തി. എന്നാൽ ആ ഓർഡർ അനുസരിച്ച് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർപ്രവർത്തിച്ചുകാണാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഈ പ്രമേയം വീണ്ടും ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നത്.

ഇപ്പോഴും നിയമനാധികാരമുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ അവരുടെ ചാർച്ചക്കാരേയും ബന്ധുജനങ്ങളേയും പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവീസിൽ നിയമിക്കുന്ന പതിവാണ് തുടർന്നുകൊണ്ടുവരുന്നത്. കൗൺസിലിലെ ചോദ്യങ്ങൾക്കു കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള മറുപടികളിൽ നിന്നും ഇതു വ്യക്തമാകുന്നുണ്ട്. [illegible] ഏപ്രിൽ [illegible]-ാം-യാണ് ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് ഒരു ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് പ്രൊസീഡിംഗ്സ് ഉണ്ടായത്. അതിൽ ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലും

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[Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman.]

നടന്ന നിയമനത്തെ എടുത്തു പ്രസ്ഥാപിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു മേലദ്ധ്യക്ഷന്മാരോടും സമാധാനംചോദിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഒന്നാമതായിട്ട ലാൻറുറവന്യൂകമ്മീഷണരോടാണ് ചോദിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. അതു ഇപ്രകാരമാണു.

"ഈ വകുപ്പിൽ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം ലഭിച്ചിട്ടില്ലാത്ത സമുദായങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും അപേക്ഷകന്മാരുണ്ടായിരുന്നിട്ടും ആ സമുദായങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും നിയമനങ്ങൾ കുറവായതെന്തുകൊണ്ടാണെന്നു കമ്മീഷണർ സമാധാനം പറയണം. പേഷ്കാരന്മാരുടെ നിയമനത്തിലും ഇതുപോലെതന്നെ പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിനു അവരുടെ സമാധാനംവാങ്ങി സ്വന്തം അഭിപ്രായത്തോടുകൂടി ഗവർണ്മെൻറിലേക്കയക്കണം."

ജുഡിഷ്യൽഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു സംബന്ധിച്ചും സമാധാനം ചോദിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്.

"ഈ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിൽ ധാരാളം പ്രവേശനം ലഭിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള സമുദായക്കാരിൽനിന്നും പിന്നെയും കൂടുതൽപേരെ നിയമിക്കുകയും താല്ക്കാലികഒഴിവുകളിൽപോലും തീരെ പ്രവേശനം ലഭിക്കാത്ത സമുദായക്കാരിൽ നിന്നും കൂടുതൽ ആളുകളെ നിയമിക്കാതിരിക്കയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതിനു സമാധാനംപറയണം."

ഇങ്ങിനെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, പരസ്പരസഹായസംഘം, പബ്ലിക്കുവർക്സ്, എക്സൈസ് എന്നീ വകുപ്പുകാരോടെല്ലാം സമാധാനം ചോദിച്ചിരുന്നു. സമാധാനം ഒന്നും ഇതേവരെ പറഞ്ഞതായി അറിവില്ല. നിയമനങ്ങളെല്ലാം പഴയപടിതന്നെ. ജുഡീഷ്യൽഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഞാൻ ചോദിച്ച ഒരു ചോദ്യത്തിനു നൽകീട്ടുള്ള ഉത്തരം ഇവിടെ എടുത്തുപറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. ൨൧൦-ാംനമ്പർ ചോദ്യത്തിനാണ് അതു്. ൯൭ മുതൽ ൧൯൦൧ വരെ ഹൈക്കോടതിയിൽ നിന്നും നിയമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ക്ലാർക്കുകളുടെ കണക്കാണ് ചോദിച്ചിരുന്നതു്. ബ്രാഹ്മണർ ൧൨൨, ഈഴവൻ ൧, നായന്മാർ ൩൭, വെള്ളാളർ ൧൩, മറുഹിന്ദുക്കൾ ൬, മഹമ്മദീയൻ ൧, പ്രോട്ടസ്റ്റൻറു ൻ, റോമൻകത്തോലിക്കർ ൩, യാക്കോബായ ൧൪, റിഫ്ഓറം ൩, ആംഗ്ലോ ഇന്ത്യൻ ഇനി എക്സൈസുഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലെ നിയമനങ്ങളെനോക്കാം. എക്സൈസ് കമ്മീഷണർ ഏതാനും മാസത്തെ അവധി എടുത്തിരുന്നപ്പോൾ മി: ഗോവിന്ദപ്പിള്ള ആ സ്ഥാനം വഹിച്ചിരുന്നു. അപ്പോഴുള്ള നിയമനത്തെപ്പറ്റി കൌൺസിലിൽചോദിച്ച ചോദ്യങ്ങൾക്കു കിട്ടീട്ടുള്ള മറുപടി

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യാണ് താഴെ പറയുന്നത്. ആകെ 6 വ നിയമനങ്ങളിൽ 6 ഒ നായന്മാരും ര് ബ്രാഹ്മണരും, ര് മറ്റുഹിന്ദുക്കളും, ര് ഈഴവരും, ന വെള്ളാളരും ഒരു കത്തോലിക്കനും, ഒ മറ്റു ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളും, ന മഹമ്മദീയരും, ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ നിയമിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്. മി: ഗോവിന്ദപ്പിള്ള ആക്ടിംഗ് കമ്മീഷണരായിരുന്ന മൂന്നുമാസകാലങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളിലെ നിയമനങ്ങളാണ് ഇത്. ഈ മാതിരി പല പട്ടികകളും പല ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും എടുത്തുപറയുവാൻ കഴിയും. എന്നാൽ സമയമില്ല. ഈ മാതിരി ആക്ഷേപയോഗ്യമായ തരത്തിലാണ് ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലേയും നിയമനങ്ങൾ. ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലും തങ്ങളുടെ ആളുകളില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ട് ജനസാമാന്യം വളരെ ദുരിതങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. എല്ലാവർഗ്ഗങ്ങളിലും കാംക്ഷമതയുള്ളവരുണ്ട് കാംക്ഷമത ചില വർഗ്ഗക്കാക്കുമാത്രമായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ലല്ലൊ. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് എല്ലാ വർഗ്ഗക്കാക്കും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം നൽകണമെന്നു ഞാൻ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നത്.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): പുരുഷന്മാരോളം സ്ത്രീകളും ഇല്ലെ? അവക്കും പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം കൊടുക്കണ്ടേ?

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha cum Todupuzha*): ഒടുവിൽ ചോദിച്ചാൽ ഉത്തരം പറയാം.

ഇന്നത്തെ ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനങ്ങളിൽ, ഭയങ്കരമായ അന്യായം, അനീതി, അക്രമം, അഴിമതി, അധർമ്മം, ഇവയാണു തെളിഞ്ഞുകാണുന്നത്. ഗവർമെൻറു നിഷ്പക്ഷരായിട്ട് ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ചോദിച്ചിട്ടും അദ്ധ്യക്ഷന്മാരുടെ സമാധാനം കിട്ടിയിട്ടില്ല. ഗവർമ്മെൻറു ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം ശ്രദ്ധിക്കയും പക്ഷപാതപരമായ നിയമനങ്ങൾ നടത്തുന്നവരെ ശിക്ഷിക്കയും ചെയ്തിരുന്നാൽ ഇതുമാതിരി ഒരു പ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടിവരികയില്ലായിരുന്നു.

ഇവിടത്തെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാക്കു ശമ്പളവും പടിയുമായി ഒരുകോടിയോളം രൂപ ചിലവാകുന്നുണ്ട്. അതു ചുരുക്കം ചില സമുദായങ്ങളിൽതന്നെയാണ്, അധികവും ചെന്നുചേരുന്നത്. പണത്തെസംബന്ധിച്ചുമാത്രമാണെങ്കിൽ പക്ഷേ വിട്ടുകളയാമായിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അധികാരത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും അവ പക്ഷപാതപരമായി ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്നതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും മൌനമായിരുന്നാൽ രാജ്യത്തിൻെറ ഭാവി എന്തായിരിക്കും? ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ ഗവർമ്മെൻറിൻെറ കരങ്ങളാണ്. ആ കരങ്ങൾ രാജ്യനിവാസികളെ ഗുണകരമായോ ദോഷകരമായോ സ്പർശിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിൽ നിന്നൊഴിവാൻ ആർക്കും നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. പ്രാതിനിധ്യമുള്ള വർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾക്കു ഹിതകരവും മറ്റുള്ളവർക്കു ദുഃഖകരവുമായ

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[Mr. Tariatu Kunjitommau.]

വിധത്തിലാണ് പ്രസ്തുതകരങ്ങൾ സ്പർശിക്കുന്നതെങ്കിൽ അതുകൊണ്ടു മെന്നമായിരിക്കാമോ? ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനവിഷയത്തിൽ വർഗ്ഗീയപക്ഷപാതം കാണിക്കുന്നവർ മറ്റു ഉദ്യോഗകൃത്യങ്ങളിലും പക്ഷപാതം കാണിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു് അനുമാനിക്കേണ്ടതല്ലെ? അനുഭവവും അങ്ങിനെതന്നെ. അനുഭവമാണെല്ലൊ പ്രധാനം. ഇപ്പോൾ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞ വർഗ്ഗക്കാർ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കൂടുതൽ ഉള്ളവരുടെ അടിമകൾ എന്ന നിലയിലാണു കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടുന്നതു്. ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു വർഗ്ഗക്കാക്കു മാത്രമെ രാജ്യത്തിൽ പ്രാമാണ്യം പാടൊള്ളു എന്നു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഞാൻ അതിനെ നിഷേധിക്കും ഈ രാജ്യം നായന്മാരുടേയും, ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളുടേയും, മഹമ്മദീയരുടേയും, എന്നുവേണ്ട ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് അധിവസിക്കുന്ന സകലരുടേയും, ആണു്. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഈ രാജ്യത്തു, സകലതും ഏതാനും ചിലരുടെ അധീനത്തിലാണെന്നുള്ള ഭാവമാണു് ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനങ്ങൾ വഴിയായി തെളിഞ്ഞു കാണുന്നതു്. ഈ ഒരു മനോഭാവം രാജ്യത്തിനു പൊതുവെ അപകടകരമാണു്. ഒരുത്തന്റെ ന്യായം അവന്റെ വർഗ്ഗത്തിനു പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവ്വീസിൽ ആളുകളില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് അന്യായമായും, മറെറാരുത്തന്റെ അന്യായം പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവീസിൽ സ്വവർഗ്ഗക്കാർ ധാരാളമുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു് ന്യായമായും പരിണമിക്കുന്ന എങ്കിൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ഭാവി എന്തായിരിക്കും? ഈ ഗതിയെ ഉടനെ നിർത്തണം. രാജ്യക്ഷേമകാംക്ഷികളായ എല്ലാവരും ഇതിൽ ശ്രദ്ധ പതിക്കണം. എനിക്കു് ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടുകയില്ല. എന്റെ സന്താനങ്ങൾക്കും ബന്ധുക്കൾക്കും ഉദ്യോഗം വേണ്ട. ഞാൻ സ്വാർത്ഥപ്രതിപത്തികൊണ്ടു പറയുന്നതല്ല. രാജ്യത്തു നീതിയും ന്യായവും നടക്കണമെന്നുമാത്രമെ എനിക്കു താല്പര്യമുള്ളു.

ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ പ്രതിക്ഷേപിച്ചവരിൽ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവ്വീസിലെ ഭൂരിപക്ഷഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളും അധീനമാക്കിയ വർഗ്ഗക്കാരാണ് എന്ന സംഗതി ഗവർണ്മെൻറു മനസ്സിലാക്കണം. ദേശാഭിമാനിയായ എന്റെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻ മി: ജി രാമൻമേനോൻ വിശാലമനസ്കതയോടു് ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുഭാവിച്ചു പ്രസംഗിക്കയുണ്ടായി. ജപ്പാൻരാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ഉന്നമനാവസ്ഥയിൽ അവിടത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറിൽ പ്രത്യേകാവകാശങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിച്ചു കൊണ്ടിരുന്ന "സമുരെയ്" വർഗ്ഗക്കാർ അവരുടെ പ്രത്യേകാവകാശങ്ങളെ മഹാമനസ്കതയോടെ പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്കായി വലിച്ചെറിഞ്ഞു. അതിനുശേഷമാണു് ആ രാജ്യം ഉൽകൃഷ്ടത്തെ പ്രാപിച്ചതു്. രാജ്യമാകുന്ന ഭവനത്തിൽ വിവിധവർഗ്ഗത്തിൽപ്പെട്ട എല്ലാ അളുക

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ളും തുല്യാവകാശമുള്ള സഹോദരന്മാരാണെന്നും പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവ്വീസിൽ എല്ലാവക്കും അവകാശം ഒരുപോലെ ആണെന്നും ഉള്ള തത്വത്തെ എന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ പ്രതിക്രൂലിച്ചവർ ഓർക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ഇവിടെ വിവിധവർഗ്ഗങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധികാം വേണ്ടിടത്തോളമില്ല. റവന്യൂ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെന്റിൽ വേണ്ടപോലെ എല്ലാവർഗ്ഗക്കാക്കും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന എന്നു വരികിൽ വിവിധ വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽപെട്ട ആളുകാം ഈ സഭയിൽ ഇതിലധികം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുമായിരുന്നു. എന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ ബലമായി പിൻതാങ്ങിയ മി: ഹബീബ് മഹമ്മദ് മൂന്നലക്ഷം മഹമ്മദീയരുടെ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നയാളാണ്. ഏഴു ലക്ഷത്തോളംവരുന്ന അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം വഹിക്കുന്ന മെസ്സേർസ് കുമാരൻ, പത്മനാഭൻ ഇവരും, ക്രസ്ത്യൻ മെമ്പറന്മാരും, എന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിച്ചു സംസാരിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞു. ഇതിൽനിന്നെല്ലാം, രാജ്യത്തെ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായമെന്താണെന്ന് ഇവിടെ വ്യക്തമായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇന്നു പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കൂടുതലുള്ള വക്കീൽ പലന്യായങ്ങളും പറഞ്ഞു പ്രമേയത്തെ എതുത്തുവെങ്കിലും ഭൂരിപക്ഷജനഹിതത്തെ ആദരിക്കേണ്ട ഗവർണ്മെന്റിന് ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ഭൂരിപക്ഷമായ നാലക്ഷത്തോളം വരുന്ന ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെ ആദരിച്ചു പ്രവർത്തിച്ചേകഴിയൂ എന്നു വന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്.

പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവീസിൽ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം നൽകുന്നത് ജനസംഖ്യമാത്രമല്ല, പരീക്ഷാവിജയികളുടെ സംഖ്യയും കൂടിനോക്കി വേണമെന്നു ചീഫ് സിക്രട്ടറിആവർകാം പറഞ്ഞു. അതു പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞ വർഗ്ഗക്കാക്ക് എതുയും ദോഷകരമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. അങ്ങിനെയാണെങ്കിൽ, അടുത്ത ൫൦ കൊല്ലത്തിനുള്ളിൽ ഒരു ഈഴവനോ ഒരു പുലയനോ ഒരുദ്യോഗം കിട്ടാനിടയില്ല. ബ്രാഹ്മണർ, നായന്മാർ, ക്രസ്ത്യാനികാം ഇവരുടെയിടയിൽ കൂടുതൽ പരീക്ഷാവിജയികാം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കും. ആ കാലത്തു് ഉദ്യോഗം അവക്കു മാത്രമേ കൊടുക്കാൻ സാധിക്കയുള്ളൂ. അതുകൊണ്ടു പരീക്ഷാവിജയികളുടെ സംഖ്യയനുസരിച്ചു് ഉദ്യോഗവിതരണം ചെയ്യണമെന്നവയ്ക്കുന്നതു് ഒരിക്കലും ന്യായമല്ല. ഒരു ഉദ്യോഗത്തിന് ആവശ്യമുള്ള പരീക്ഷായോഗ്യതയോടുകൂടിയ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം ധാരാളം ഉള്ള വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽപെട്ട ഒരാളും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞ വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽപെട്ട ഒരാളും അപേക്ഷകന്മാരായി വരുമ്പോാം പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞ വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽപെട്ട ആാക്കുതന്നെ നൽകണം. അതു് ഒരിക്കലും ഒരു അന്യായമല്ല. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവരും, പലപ്രകാരത്തിലും സ്വാധീനശക്തി സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവരുമായവർ, തങ്ങളുടെ വർഗ്ഗക്കാക്കായിത്തന്നെവ

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[Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman.]

ച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കയും, മറുള്ളവരെ പുറംതള്ളുകയും, ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാത്ത വർക്കാർ മറു വർക്കാരുടെ അടിമകളെപ്പോലെ കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടേണ്ടിവരികയും ചെയ്യുന്നതു കാണുമ്പോൾ, മറുള്ളവർ തത്വജ്ഞാനികളാണെങ്കിലും ഈ മാതിരിസംഭവങ്ങൾ ഇളക്കിപ്പോകും. തങ്ങൾ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽനിന്നും ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ട് തങ്ങൾ മറുള്ളവരുടെ ദാസ്യത്തിന്ന് ഇടയായിതീരുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അവർ നിശ്ചയമായിട്ടും ഇളകും. നീതിയ്ക്കായി ന്യായമായ ഏതു മാർഗ്ഗത്തിലൂടെയും ഫലോദയംവരെ പരിശ്രമിച്ചുകളയാമെന്ന ശപഥം ചെയ്തു പുറപ്പെട്ടും. എന്നാൽ അവരുടെ മാർഗ്ഗം വളരെ ദുർഘടങ്ങളുള്ളതും കല്ലും മുള്ളും നിറഞ്ഞതുമാണെന്നുള്ളതു് നിസ്സംശയമാണു്. മേലാൽ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞ ആളുകളുടെ അപേക്ഷകളെ വിഗണിക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ കഠിനമായി ശിക്ഷിക്കയും വേണ്ടിവന്നാൽ അവരെ പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവീസിൽ നിന്നും പിരിച്ചുവിടുകയും ചെയ്താൽമാത്രമേ രാജ്യസ്ഥിതി നന്നാവു. നീതിയെ സ്നേഹിക്കയും അനീതിയെ വെറുക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന എല്ലാവരും അതിന്നായി ഗവർമ്മെൻറിനെ പ്രേരിപ്പിക്കയാണു വേണ്ടതു്.

അധഃകൃതവർഗ്ഗക്കാരുടെ ഉദ്ധാരണത്തിന്നു വേണ്ടി പത്രങ്ങൾ വഴിയായും പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾ വഴിയായും പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന കേരളിയുള്ള മിസ്റ്റർ എ. കെ. പിള്ള അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രവൃത്തിപദ്ധതിയിൽ നിന്നും ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ വ്യതിചലിച്ച് പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചുകാണുന്നതു പ്രത്യേകം ശ്രദ്ധിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): No, എന്റെ ചോദ്യത്തിന്നുത്തരം പറയണം.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): സ്ത്രീ പുരുഷന്മാരുടെ അവകാശത്തിനും ഇതിനും സംബന്ധമില്ലല്ലൊ. അതിലേക്കുവേണ്ടി വെറുതെ സമയം കളയേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. (ചിരി.)

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടു മുതലായരാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ സ്ത്രീകൾ പുരുഷന്മാരെ പോലെതന്നെ വേലചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടെന്നറിയാമോ?

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): പലതും ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ട്. അതെല്ലാം ഇവിടെ പറയേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ലല്ലൊ.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): സ്ത്രീകൾക്കു ശരിയായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കിട്ടുന്നതു വരെ പുരുഷന്മാർ അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കരുതോ?

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MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): സ്ത്രീകളും പുരുഷന്മാരും തമ്മിൽ ഇവിടെ അവകാശവാദം നടക്കുന്നില്ല. ഈ മാതിരി ചോദ്യങ്ങൾ കൊണ്ടാണു് മിസ്റ്റർ എ. കെ. പിള്ള പ്രായോഗികലോകത്തിലല്ല ആദർശലോകത്തിലാണെന്നു് എന്റെ ചില സ്നേഹിതന്മാർ ഇവിടെ പറയുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ ഈസംഗതിയിൽ അദ്ദേഹം പ്രായോഗിക ലോകത്തുതന്നെയിരിക്കുന്ന എന്നാണു് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. അതു കൊണ്ടാണു് അദ്ദേഹം ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർത്തതെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. എന്തെന്നാൽ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിലെ തത്വം പ്രയോഗത്തിൽ വരുമ്പോൾ താൻ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടുന്ന സമുദായക്കാർക്കു് ആധിനമായിട്ടുള്ള കൂടുതൽ പങ്കു ക്രമേണ നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടേക്കുമെന്നു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു നല്ലവണ്ണം അറിയാം.

കൃഷിക്കാരായ എല്ലാജനങ്ങളെയും സാരമായി ബാധിക്കുന്നതും, ജനപ്രതിനിധികളുടെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പധികാരം വഹിക്കുന്നതുമായ റവെന്യൂ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിൽ എല്ലാ വർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾക്കും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം നൽകാത്തതു എതായും ആക്ഷേപ യോഗ്യമായിട്ടുള്ളതാകുന്നു. ആറു ലക്ഷത്തിലധികമുള്ള കത്തോലിക്കരിൽ നിന്നും ഒരു പാവ്തൃകാരോ തഹശിൽദാരോ ഇല്ല.

റവന്യൂദേവസ്വം വിഭജനം കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടു് അഞ്ചു വർഷങ്ങളായി എങ്കിലും, റവെന്യൂഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു സവർണ്ണമയം തന്നെ ഇയ്യഴവർ മഹമ്മദീയർ മുതലായ വർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കും അതിൽ തീരെ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം നൽകുന്നില്ല. വിദേശികൾ ഇവിടെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരായിരിക്കുന്നതു ദോഷമാണെന്നു പലരും പറയാറുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ സ്വദേശി ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ വർഗ്ഗീയ പക്ഷപാതവും, ഏതഴമതിയിലും അവരെ സഹായിക്കാനുള്ള സ്വജനങ്ങളുടെ സന്നദ്ധതയും കാണുമ്പോൾ വിദേശിയായാലും മതി, ഞങ്ങൾക്കു നീതിയും ന്യായവും ലഭിക്കയാണു് വേണ്ടതെന്നു് ജനങ്ങൾ മുറവിളി കൂട്ടിപ്പോകുന്നു. എന്നാൽ വിദേശികളായ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും ചിലപ്പോൾ തങ്ങളുടെ ആഫീസുമാനേജരന്മാരുടെയോ ക്ലാർക്കുകളുടേയോ ഉപദേശത്തിനു വശംവദരായി വ്യതിചലിച്ചുപോകാറുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ മിസ്റ്റർ പിറവു് ഒരു വ്യത്യസ്തം തന്നെയാണു്. മിസ്റ്റർ പിറവു നിർദ്ദാക്ഷിണ്യനായ ഒരുദ്യോഗസ്ഥനാണു്. അങ്ങിനേയുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരായാൽ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു നീതി ലഭിക്കും. കീഴിലുള്ള വർക്കു് വർഗ്ഗീയ പക്ഷപാതം കാണിക്കുവാൻ കുറെ വിഷമമുണ്ടാകും.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിൽ കത്തോലിക്കർക്കു ധാരാളം പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കിട്ടീട്ടുണ്ടോ?

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MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha cum Todupuzha*): ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനങ്ങൾ സംബന്ധിച്ചല്ല, ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ വഗ്ഗീയ പക്ഷപരമായ മറ്റു കൃത്യങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചാണ് ഞാൻ ഇപ്പോൾ പറഞ്ഞത്. കാൺസ്റ്റബിൾമാരുടെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്ക് ഒരു തരത്തിൽ പ്രാധാന്യമുണ്ടെങ്കിലും, പലരും അതിനു പോകാറില്ല. ഉയർന്ന നിയമനങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് ഈ വകുപ്പിലും കാര്യങ്ങൾ ശരിപ്പെടാനുണ്ട്. എന്റെ പ്രമേയം ഈ വകുപ്പിനെയും ബാധിക്കും.

രാജ്യത്തു നീതിയും ന്യായവും നടക്കണമെന്നു മാത്രമേ ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടൊള്ളൂ. ഉദ്യോഗം ശരിയായി ലഭിക്കാത്ത സമുദായക്കാർക്കു പലദോഷങ്ങളും സംഭവിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. മറ്റുള്ളവർ അവരുടേ നേരെ അധികാരം ചെലുത്താൻ ഇടവരുന്നു. ഈ ദോഷത്തിനു കുറച്ചെങ്കിലും പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാകാനാണ് ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലും എല്ലാ വഗ്ഗങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും ആളുകൾ വേണമെന്നു പറയുന്നത്. മിസ്റ്റർ പിറ്റിന്റെ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിൽ നിന്ന് വഗ്ഗീയമത്സരങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാകാതെ അദ്ദേഹം നോക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ മറ്റുപലരെക്കാൾ അദ്ദേഹം ഭേദമാണ്. കീഴിലുള്ളവർക്ക് അദ്ദേഹത്തെ ഭയവുമുണ്ട്. രാജ്യത്തു നീതിയേയും ന്യായത്തേയും അവഗണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടാകുന്ന ശ്രേയസ്സ് ഒരു വഗ്ഗത്തിനും ആശാസ്യമായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ല. പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവ്വീസിൽ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞവഗ്ഗങ്ങളുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളെ പ്രഥമമായി ഗണിച്ച് നിയമനം നടത്തണമെന്നുള്ള എന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തിലെ തത്വത്തെ ഗവർമ്മെൻറു സമ്മതിക്കുന്നതായി ചീഫ് സിക്രട്ടരി അവർകളുടെ ആദ്യത്തെ മറുപടിയിൽ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ട്, ഞാൻ പ്രമേയത്തെ പിൻവലിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): It is objectionable to allow him to withdraw the resolution without giving an opportunity to the official member, especially after he has made so vigorous a speech.

PRESIDENT: I cannot allow you to withdraw your resolution, Mr. Kunjitomman, before the Chief Secretary has had his reply.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): Sir, we have had a very long and interesting discussion on this much debated subject which has always been a vexed question in this House. In my first speech, in reply to Mr. Kunjitomman's resolution, which was discussed in this House about a year ago, the broad principles which the Government had accepted were mentioned. I then also explained what the scope of those principles was. If I may quote from my own speech, I spoke as follows on the last occasion:—

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"If Mr. Kunjitomman means by this resolution that, until equality of representation is reached by the members of communities which are inadequately represented in the public service, the members of the adequately represented communities should not be employed, then, I am afraid, the Government cannot accept that position."

"When the Government have said that, other things being equal, preference will be given to unrepresented and poorly represented communities, they did not mean any mathematical precision in the matter of appointments to the public service in that. What they meant was that they would as far as possible make good these inequalities and, for that purpose, they would give more representation to those communities which are not represented properly and not that they would exclude the communities which are adequately represented in the public service."

Now, from the discussions in this House it could be seen clearly that there is considerable difference of opinion on this subject. Members have held diametrically opposite views. That really shows that this question is bristling with difficulties and is not a simple one. It shows how difficult the position of the Government is in laying any hard and fast rule on this subject of representation in the public service. Sir, I admit that this question comes up here not mainly because there are emoluments attached to offices, but because the desire for serving the State is a desire possessed by all the communities of the State. I do not put it on a lower ground than that. Now, that is a laudable desire and, as far as the Government are concerned, they have said that they are for giving equal opportunities to all communities in the State. Because a man belongs to a particular community he will not be debarred from admission to the State service. I asked Mr. Kujitomman on the last occasion, the broad principles having been accepted by the Government, what exactly he wanted. His resolution seems to imply that equality of representation in the public service should be the guiding principle for the Government to follow, and that, until all the various communities come up to the level of the so-called adequately represented communities, no recruitment should be made from those communities. Sir, as I said on the last occasion, it is a very objectionable principle to follow. It is objectionable from various standpoints, and I need not repeat them. Supposing that principle were to be followed in the recruitment to the public service, what would happen? The communities which are said to be adequately represented would have to forego altogether all chances of entrance into the public service for the next 20 years or more. Can the Government contemplate such a thing as that? Is it fair to the young men of those communities? Is it good for the public service of the State? I may even ask; is it good for those communities themselves which require that their representatives should be appointed more and more in the State service? I say it is good for nobody. It is not a fair request to make." So, that is what Mr. Kunjitomman's resolution comes to, and that is a proposition which is altogether impossible for the Government to accept. As I said before, what the Government have said is that the inequalities in the various departments, as far as possible, will be levelled, but they do not at all accept the position that any mathematical precision should be observed in making the appointments.

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[Mr. K. George.]

It was stated by Mr. Kunjitomman and one or two others that appointments should be made on the basis of the population or some such thing. Well, that also is a very, very difficult matter to decide. Is that basis to be followed in each and every department separately or is it to be followed taking the State as a whole? I shall take a concrete case. The Roman Catholic Christians number six lakhs. But the Namputiri Brahmins number only six thousand. Now, is it Mr. Konjitomman's position that Namputiris and Roman Catholics should be appointed in the proportion of one to hundred, that is that one Malayali Brahmin should be appointed to the State service only after one hundred Roman Catholics are appointed and that that rotation should always be followed? I say the whole thing will reduce itself to an absurdity if we go to that length. Therefore, even the basis of population is not a proper basis. There are various considerations which should enter into the question. There is the educational advance of a community. There is the social, political and economic position of a community. All these have to be considered. As I said in the very beginning, it is impossible to lay down a hard and fast rule in this matter and the Government would be stultifying themselves if they attempt to do such a thing.

It was said, I think by Mr. Kumaran and one or two other members, that efficiency is more often a catchword and that not very much of it is needed for certain kinds of appointments, as in the case of clerks.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): I did not say so. I said that, so far as efficiency is concerned, certain rules should be laid down as to the minimum qualifications that are required. If the Government are not satisfied that those qualifications will not be of much use, then they can raise the minimum qualifications and there is an end of the matter.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): What he said was that no genius is required or some such thing. I admit that no genius is required. But even as regards the minimum qualification, I think there is really a misunderstanding. Minimum qualification, no doubt, is the *minimum* qualification for the post, and if you can secure a better man for the service, so much the better. To take a concrete case. Suppose, for service in the Education Department, a Brahmin who is a first class 'B. A.' and an Ezhava who is a third class 'B. A.' apply. The educational qualifications prescribed for the post of teachers is 'B. A.'

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): What would the member say if the best man who applied was disregarded though he belonged to the class not adequately represented?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): That certainly would be wrong.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): There are very many instances like that.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): To maintain efficiency in the Education Department—in the schools where our children

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go to receive instruction—I suppose we all want the best teachers to be appointed. What would this House say if men who are not efficient, who are bad as teachers and whose qualification is poor, are appointed as teachers? The minimum qualification for a teacher's post is 'B. A.' But would not the House commend an appointment when a first class graduate who is a Brahmin is preferred to a third class graduate belonging to an unrepresented community? Similarly, there are posts where efficiency is very important, I mean where the minimum qualification that is prescribed in the Public Service Notification is not always the best thing for service in the State.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): Is not Mr. P. J. Thomas a first class graduate?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): I regret, Sir, that I cannot answer any question about any individual.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Do the Government follow the distinction between first class graduates and second or third class graduates?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): That is the aim of the Government.

MR. K I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): But do they actually follow it?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): To answer that, I must examine all the appointments made in the past years myself.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Is it the policy that the Government intend to follow in the future without any exception?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): As I said, efficiency is the guiding test.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): I mean the principle of making distinction between the first class, the second class and so on.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): I spoke about it only as an illustration to show that efficiency is a very important consideration.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): I wish to know from the Chief Secretary whether, in the future, the idea of the Government is to follow this policy of making a distinction between the first class, the second class and so on?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): I did not say anything about the policy of the Government. I said that efficiency is a matter of paramount consideration for the service of the State.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): What am I to understand from the Chief Secretary as regards my question about the policy of the Government in making a distinction in favour of the first class?

PRESIDENT: You are asking on a matter of detail. The Chief Secretary is now answering a resolution dealing with a large principle and, therefore, I say that your question is irrelevant.

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MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): What is the time-limit for the Chief Secretary to make his reply?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): I want only a few more minutes.

I need not repeat once more what the position of the Government is in this matter. As I said in my speech on the last occasion, the Government's attitude in this matter is one of sympathy. They will try to see as far as possible that better representation is given to the communities which are said to be unrepresented or inadequately represented. They cannot accept the position that all communities should be equally represented in the public service or proportionately represented. It is not possible to accept a position like that.

There is one more point. From his speech I understand that the mover himself is in a way satisfied with the principle laid down by the Government. His complaint mainly was that this is not being followed. As to that, as I said once before, the Government are regularly watching the making of appointments by heads of departments and returns are being received from the various heads of departments regarding the appointments made by them. They are being scrutinised and heads of departments are asked to explain any cases of undue preference shown by them.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): May I know from the member whether the promise of the Land Revenue Commissioner in regard to the recruitment of *Proverthikars* is acted upon?

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): Is that question relevant, Sir?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): That is a question which the Land Revenue Commissioner should answer.

On these grounds, I oppose the resolution.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha cum Todupuzha*): ഞാൻ പ്രമേയത്തെ പിൻവലിക്കുന്നു.

PRESIDENT: Does the House permit the resolution to be withdrawn?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): I object to leave being granted to the withdrawal of the resolution. Sir, may I explain my position?

PRESIDENT: No. Mr. Kunjitomman, I see that objection has been raised to your withdrawing the resolution and I quite agree with that, because a great deal of time has been taken and a great deal of feeling has been stirred and, possibly, hopes raised in various quarters for the numerous unemployed of various communities by your resolution. I think it is imperative in the interests of this House and the convention that it may build up in regard to the general well-being of the country and its component communities that a definite decision be arrived at on your resolution. (Mr. G. Paramesvaran Pillai: *Hear, hear.*)

The question whether the member had the leave of the House to withdraw the resolution was put to the vote and lost.

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The resolution was then put to the vote of the House and lost, 9 voting *for* the resolution and 30 *against* it.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : I demand a poll.

A poll was taken with the following result :

AYES—9.

1. Mr. P. Habeeb Mahomed.	6. Mr. X. G. Lopez.
2. ,, A. J. John.	7. ,, R. Padmanabhan.
3. ,, K. I. Joseph.	8. ,, G. Raman Menon.
4. ,, N. Kumaran.	9. ,, M. Sivatanu Pillai.
5. ,, Tariatu Kunjitomman.	

NOES—30.

1. Mr. I. C. Chacko.	17. Mr. G. Paramesvaran Pillai.
2. ,, R. Dhanukoti Pillai.	18. ,, Kayyalam Paramesvaran Pillai.
3. ,, K. George.	19. Mrs. M. Poonen Lukose.
4. ,, C. Kerala Varma Koil Tampuran.	20. Mr. K. N. Ramasubba Aiyar.
5. ,, C. P. Kochukunju Pillai.	21. ,, T. P. Ramasubba Aiyar.
6. ,, A. K. Pillai.	22. ,, O. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.
7. ,, T. Kumara Pillai.	23. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
8. ,, R. Krishna Pillai.	24. Mr. K. Sivarama Panikkar.
9. Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai.	25. ,, S. Subrahmanya Karayalar.
10. Mr. L. A. Lampard.	26. ,, M. Subrahmanya Pillai.
11. ,, K. Madhavan Pillai.	27. ,, C. N. Tuppan Namputiri.
12. ,, G. Narayana Pillai.	28. ,, J. Stephenson.
13. ,, Kallur Narayana Pillai.	29. ,, V. S. Subrahmanya Aiyar.
14. ,, P. K. Narayana Pillai.	30 ,, A. J. Van Ross.
15. ,, K. P. Nilakanta Pillai.	
16. ,, M. N. Pillai.	

NEUTRALS—7.

1. Mr. K. C. Mammen Mappillai.	4. Mr. S. Piraviperumal Pillai.
2. ,, Changanacherry K. Paramesvaran Pillai.	5. ,, C. P. Tarakan.
3. ,, Mr. Paul Daniel	6. ,, C. P. Thomas.
	7. ,, K. K. Thomas.

The resolution was accordingly declared lost.

The Council adjourned for lunch at 2-30 P. M. and reassembled at 3-30 P. M. with the Deputy President in the chair.

Reduction of rates of Anchal Cards and Envelopes.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*) : Sir, I beg to move the following resolution :—

This Council recommends to the Government that they may be pleased to reduce the rates of Anchal cards and envelopes to four and eight cash, respectively.

Sir, the Anchal Department was made a commercial department in the year 1095 and, from the beginning of 1096, it came to be worked

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[Mr. M. Sivatanu Pillai.]

as a commercial department. If I recollect correctly, at the time when the proposal was made before the then Council, *i. e.*, before Regulation II of 1097 came into effect, it was stoutly opposed by the non-official section of that House. The main ground for their opposition was that this department, affecting as it does all the subjects of the State, without any single exception, it should be worked by the Government as any other department which cannot be avoided and hence it should not be treated as a commercial department. Secondly, if I remember correct, the arguments advanced by the member, who fortunately happens to be here again as the member for Neyyattinkarai, my friend Mr. G. Paramesvaran Pillai, made out a clear case showing that the department was not losing, but, on the other hand, it was almost making a very successful attempt to support itself. If I may be permitted to refer to a distinguished member who now sits, unfortunately for me, on the other side this time, I mean Mr. Kayyalam Paramesvaran Pillai, I may say that he stoutly opposed the increase in the price for Anchal cards and stamps then. But then the House passed it over the opposition from the non-official section. Sir, it may not be irrelevant if I say that we must also move with the outside world. In England, it is a matter of common knowledge that Penny Post system was tried and found wanting and so it was rejected. Again, in British India, a very earnest and serious attempt was made even in the last session of the Legislative Assembly to reduce the postal rates though the attempt did not succeed for reasons not bearing on the merits of the question. Sir, if all these facts are taken into consideration, there is evidently a very, very *prima facie* case for reducing the rates of Anchal cards and stamps to the original rates of four cash and eight cash, respectively. Perhaps, it may be argued from the Treasury Benches that it would affect the revenues of the State. Of course, every measure which seeks to reduce the tax must necessarily affect the revenues of the State. The attitude of the Government, so far as this department is concerned, is that as it affects all the sections of the public it should be worked as a commercial department. Now, if you just analyse the financial aspect of this question, you will find that in the year 1096 there was a deficit according to the administration report. In the year 1097 also it was the same case. The same conditions prevailed during 1098 and 1099 and, all on a sudden, in the year 1100, the revenue jumped up and gave a surplus of Rs. 18,000. During the year 1101, it came to Rs. 12,000. Now, Sir, an explanation for these rises in the revenue could not be found in the administration report; nor was there any attempt made on the part of the Government to explain that. If you will permit me to explain that position, Sir, it is due mainly to the larger circulation and use made by the public at large of these stamps and cards. These deficits were explained by the Government as being due to charging to the accounts of the Anchal Department the charges of stamps as well as stationery supplied to the Department. The Stationery Department has got to serve every department in the State and if the Government charge the Anchal

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Department for the stationery supplied to it, my suggestion is that the Stationery Department should be made a self-supporting department. It is true, and the House is also aware, that there was a repeated disapproval on the part of this side of the House as to the way in which the Stationery Department conducts itself. Somehow or other, by the charges of stationery supplied to the department and the charges on stamps and services, the Government make the people understand that this department is not self-supporting. Well, Sir, if that is the policy of the Government in regard to a department supporting itself and if this principle were to be extended and pushed to the logical conclusion, every department must be made self-supporting. That is not at all a very desirable thing. Now, Sir, during 1101, the Anchal service has gained more than Rs. 12,000. For, as it was made a little bit clear by means of an interpellation, people do not always take to writing letters because they have not the confidence that the letters they send will reach the addressees and so some people unnecessarily take to registering letters thereby adding to the revenue. Further, if we refer to the administration report referring to the amount of stamps used by the Government, on the whole, you will find a fairly big sum. If you compare the number of stamps used by the Government and the number sold to the public at large, you will find that a very respectable proportion of the stamps is used by the public at large. These will go to show that there is not only the cost of the stamps and cards sold by this department, but there are other charges as services which make the department poor.

Now, Sir, after the increase of rates, what do we find? We find that the enhanced rate on stamps or on envelopes is not serving the purpose for which it is intended and people have sometimes to spend three cash more, at least occasionally, to buy a card. Anyhow, this was not the state of affairs before the department came to be worked on a commercial basis. Now, Sir, let us see whether there is any justification to revise and restore the old rates. As we are well aware, communications have very much improved after the introduction of automobiles. Originally, the department used to give employment for runners between stations covering about six or seven miles. Now, we know that the Government are transacting the whole business by motor cars, and as is shown by the administration report itself, one-third of the portion is being covered by automobiles. By such a step, we certainly work the department at a lower expenditure than formerly. I believe that is the existing situation. Secondly, I would find a good number of friends to support my point of view, that is to say, the lesser the rate, the greater would be the requirement by the public at large for the use of the Anchal cards and covers. If the rates are reduced to four cash and eight cash, I believe people will also find the price not only less, but at the same time will not have the nuisance, as it is now, of carrying with them enough one cash pieces. It is a matter of common knowledge that cash has fallen into disuse and the smallest coin found in large circulation is four cash and not one cash. Imagine a poor man taking one chackram and going to an Anchal Office to get a card. He goes there and he wants

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[Mr. M. Sivatanu Pillai.]

only one card and a chuckram is given, and he gets only a card and eight cash, and, if the vendor has got some pieces of cash, then only he will get the balance. Otherwise, he will simply be asked to go and ask the vendor, on some other occasion, for the balance when one cash pieces would be available.

For the rich people, no doubt, this cash coin is a nuisance; and so far as the poor people are concerned, it is a hard lot. Although the cash is the smallest current coin, that is a great thing for them. I am sure all of us have had occasion to see a large number of beggars going about the streets for this cash itself. Therefore, from the point of view of the poor people, it will certainly be a great thing if the price of cards and envelopes is reduced by a cash. Both from the point of view of the rich as well as from that of the poor, this reduction of the price of Anchal cards and envelopes from five cash and ten cash to four and eight cash is sure to be felt as a convenience and a boon. Now, Sir, our State has got the reputation for high literacy and therefore one would naturally expect that the people would take to letter writing to a greater extent than the people in British India where there is not so much of literacy as here. Therefore, naturally, there would be wider demand if the rates are lowered. Perhaps, it may be argued on the other side that there is absolutely no comparison between the rates here and the rates in British India. It may be stated that while the card and envelope cost about fifteen cash and one chackram twelve cash, respectively, in British India, they cost only five cash and ten cash here. But the conditions in British India and in Travancore are not similar. There, a post card leaves Cape Comorin and goes direct even to the most distant part of the country as Peshawar. Besides, there is absolutely no comparison between the salaries of the officers of the Postal Department and the officers of the Anchal Department. Here the Anchal master gets only about Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 or Rs. 50, while in the Postal Department the Superintendent or the Inspector gets nearly as much as the District Magistrate here. Moreover, even in British India, there was agitation in the Legislative Assembly for the reduction of the prices of cards and envelopes to quarter of an anna and half an anna. That clearly shows that there is no justification for it. Besides, as I have already stated, even at the very outset, there was very strong opposition to this increase, from four and eight cash to five and ten cash, respectively, from a very responsible section of the non-official public of our country. If, as a result of the reduction of the rates to four and eight cash, there is any reduction in the revenue, I am sure it will not amount to more than a few thousand rupees. Probably, the surplus may be erased; and as I have already stated, the Government should not run the Anchal Department on a commercial basis. After all, the Government have been getting this surplus only during the last two years and there is no guarantee that this state of affairs will continue.

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It may be argued from the other side that the proposition cannot be accepted since it would affect the revenues of the State. But, after all, the surpluses ought to be utilised to the benefit of the people at large; and if at all there is any Government department which benefits all classes of people, without any distinction whatsoever, it is the Anchal Department. Therefore, the use of the Anchal Department should be made easily accessible to all classes of people. At the same time, it is a department from which the Government ought not to expect any gain whatsoever.

It may also be stated by the other side that the employees of the Anchal Department are very poorly paid at present and that it would be absolutely impossible to give them any increment if the prices of cards and envelopes are reduced. Sir, in the first place, it is only in contemplation—

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Does the member think that the reduction of the price of cards and envelopes would reduce the income of the department?

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): Certainly not. As I have already stated, if the price is reduced, there will be wider demand; and if at all there is any reduction in the income, it will not be more than Rs. 12,000, namely, the surplus that the department is able to show at present.

Again, Sir, when the Government seriously take up the question of increasing the pay of the employees of the Anchal Department, then it will be time for the Government to come to this House for the necessary grant and *then* it would certainly be the duty of the members on this side of the House to find out the means to meet the expenditure likely to be caused by the increase in the pay of the poorly paid employees of the Anchal Department.

With these few words, Sir, I commend this resolution to the hearty acceptance of this House.

MR. M. N. PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): I second the resolution of Mr. Sivatanu Pillai.

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Sir, I beg to support the motion brought forward by Mr. Sivatanu Pillai.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): Sir, I rise to a point of order. Mr. Raman Menon is not in his seat. (*Laughter.*)

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): The financial transactions of the Government for the year 1101 leaves a balance of about twenty three and a half lakhs of rupees after meeting all the expenses of the Government. Such being the case, that balance or at least a portion of it, a very good portion of it, should be utilised for lessening the burden of taxation on the people. It is a well-recognised principle of political economy that the Government should not take from the people anything more than what is necessary for meeting the expenses, the legitimate expenses of the Government. But it may sometimes be urged that the people, when they are in affluent circumstances, will not

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[Mr. G. Raman Menon.]

give any money to the Government even if the Government are in straits for money; so that whatever sums Government can get from the people under the recognised income must be reserved and taken care of by the Government. Now, Sir, that is not the proper attitude. It is incorrect, because all the money that the Government needs must come from the people. There is no other source of income for the Government. If the Government are in straits at any time, they generally impose additional taxes on the people and the people have to pay them. So, that attitude, which regards the people's welfare and wealth and the Government's welfare and wealth as separate and the interests of the two as separate, is quite unacceptable. The Government should take only the amount of money that is necessary for their expenses. If at any time it is found that the Government are in straits for meeting their expenses, they can freely impose additional taxes, and as a matter of fact, they generally do so. They do not in such times get money by engaging themselves in trade or commerce. They get it only by imposing additional burden on the people. Therefore, if in any particular year or in any particular period of years the Government are in affluent circumstances and have balances, that money should be utilised for lessening the burden of taxation on the people.

Now, this particular proposition is one of the legitimate ways in which the Government can give effect to the very acceptable principle that I just now enunciated. Some years ago, if I remember right, the Anchal Department was working at a loss. It is only during the last two or three years that there has been no loss. On the other hand, there was surplus. That is also another reason why the Government need not stick to the increased rates. Even if it is found that the Anchal Department will, as a result of the proposed reduction, have to work at a loss, there is no harm in the Government accepting this proposition; because they have, as I pointed out at the outset, enough funds in hand. Any reduction of taxation should be such as to benefit as large a body of people as possible and this is a case in which that condition is very well fulfilled. The tax on these envelopes and cards which are used for correspondence between people can be said to be a tax on learning. That is how high authorities have pronounced upon this question.

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Would the member have absolutely free service?

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): No, I am not at present pressing that point. My point is that it should be as light as possible, as light as the Government can afford to have it. Under the present circumstances, the proposed reduction is only very moderate. It may cause a decrease in Government revenue of only about a few thousands of rupees when there is a balance of over 23½ lakhs of rupees. It is only a very small thing for the Government and it will be very much welcomed by the people. For these reasons, I heartily support the resolution.

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MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Sir, I beg to oppose the resolution that has been moved by Mr. Sivatanu Pillai: The resolution before the House has been put forward on the grounds that the Anchal Department should not be treated as a commercial department at all, that it is a department which serves the public and, as far as possible, the Government should find all the money required for its expenditure, that there should be no tax on learning, as the previous speaker observed. Well, Sir, after deliberation and, I believe, with the consent of the legislature of the time, the Government made up their mind to treat the Anchal Department as a commercial department. In fact, everywhere it is the principle that where a department of Government does a service for the public, the public who avail themselves of the service should pay for the service rendered. I quite agree that we should not seek to get any large surplus from the Anchal Department. But is that the case today? My friend, the mover, who has studied the figures for the last several years carefully, has pointed out that the surplus last year was only Rs. 12,000. Even that is a fall from the previous year's surplus.

Before proceeding further, I would like to place before this House certain facts. In the first place, the rates in the Anchal Department are the lowest, I believe, in the whole world. I will read our actual rates, the maxima rates permitted under the Anchal Regulation and the Cochin rates, under a few items. The Regulation authorises the Government to fix a rate of up to 6 cash per card, but we are now having 5 cash. In fact, even when the House agreed to the fixing of the rate at 6 cash, the Government said that it was not their intention to raise the rate to the maximum. Even today, we have not done so. Our object is not to derive any large revenue from the Anchal Department.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): What is the minimum rate?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): There is no minimum, only maximum is fixed. For cards, the corresponding rate in British India is 14¼ cash. In justification of the low rates, it has been stated that the salaries obtaining in the Anchal Department are very low, that in the British Postal Department the rates of salaries are very high and therefore the Postal Department is justified in having high rates for their cards and stamps. But I hope members will not say that our rates should be lower than the rates obtaining in *Cochin*. While our Anchal card is sold at 5 cash, in Cochin, the rate is 9½ cash. The rate for covers is higher in proportion.

MR. C. P. KOCHUKUNJU PILLAI (*Kottarakara* cum *Kunnattur*): Is there a surplus in Cochin?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I have not the figures with me. But I presume there also it is treated as a quasi-commercial department and they must have a small surplus.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): What about British India? Have they got a surplus? If so what are the figures?

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MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I have not got the latest figures and it will not be interesting to the House if I read the details from an old report. But I can say that they have a surplus.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Is the member aware that taxation per head of population in British India is much higher than here?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): We cannot talk of the Anchal rates as tax. As I have already said, we are paying for service rendered. If we take this as tax and ask for further and further reduction, we can have a happy state of affairs when we can send our letters by the post without having to affix any stamps whatever.

There may be some inconvenience caused by fixing the rate at five cash for a card and ten cash for an envelope. But, luckily, we have the advantage of having the smallest coin in our one cash pieces. I may also say that the difficulty of having to carry single cash pieces can also be overcome in another way. For example, if you take 1¼ chackram to the Anchal Office, you can buy four Anchal cards or two envelopes. But I admit the inconvenience is there and, at the same time, I must say it is an inconvenience which can be easily overcome by having a sort of compensating addition in the rate for the reduction in the rate for cards. But the mover is particular only about having the reduction. The question is whether this House is for having the Anchal service as a self-supporting service.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): May I know how reduction in rates affects revenue?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): If the mover's proposition is accepted, there will be an all round reduction of 20 per cent. in the Anchal cards and stamps. That will mean that instead of Rs. 12,000 surplus, it will be Rs. 23,000 *minus*.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): Is it not likely that the revenue will increase if the rates of cards and stamps are lowered?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): The price is already so small that it will not make any large difference in the sale.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): I think it will make.

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I think it will not. The schedule of rates is like this. For 1 tola weight, 10 cash; up to 5 tolas, 1¼ chackrams; for every additional 5 tolas or part thereof, 1¼ chackrams. Now Sir, if you reduce the five and 10 cash rate to 8 cash it would be unjustifiable to keep the present rates for the additional tola weights. There should be some corresponding decreases in these rates. Otherwise, it will not be satisfactory. Really, if you strike at this 10 cash and make it 8 cash, you should logically have an all round reduction of 20 per cent. Then what will you do to meet the deficit of the department whose object is to do a specific service?

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MR. C. P. KOCHUKUNJU PILLAI (*Kottarakara* cum *Kunnattur*) : What is the actual cost of a card?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : It may be varying. It will be a small fraction below 4 cash.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Amalapuzha*) : On whose authority it is, please?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : I find that a question was asked and an answer given in the previous Council.

MR. C. P. KOCHUKUNJU PILLAI (*Kottarakara* cum *Kunnattur*) : Have you no account in the office as to the actual cost of the card, the number of cards printed, etc ?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : We shall have to work out the figure.

The first principle is whether this department is going to be treated as a department which should be run on purely commercial lines. I do not want the House to imagine by commercial that we should make any big profit out of it. We have only Rs. 12,000 surplus and this itself is less than what we had in the previous year.

As regards the pay of the Anchal Masters, I don't think it would always stand exactly as it does now. I am simply mentioning to the House--I do not say what the Government propose to do—that the Anchal Superintendent has been pressing for some small increase for his men.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*) : Did not the Salaries Committee go into the question ?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : They might have.

I am only saying that the House will have to be called upon to vote a little more money under this head if the rates are reduced. This Rs. 12,000 is not such a big sum that you should deliberately cut it down now. It was said that the Government get by increased taxation revenue which they could spend away. The items under Anchal Department are votable items, unlike Devaswom and Military. It is quite open to the Council, if and when they notice that the cost of any branch of Anchal service is excessive, to signify their opinion by making suitable alterations. The Government will themselves be glad to correct any inequalities obtaining in the Anchal rates. But it is not possible for the Government to accept the resolution as it has been put forward, for this reason that it would involve a deficit in the departmental budget.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*) : In the olden days we had a system of boy peons who were paid two or three rupees for taking Anchal communications. Could we not go back to the old system ?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : It is a matter of detail, I cannot answer that now.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*) : If the resolution is accepted, what will be the probable reduction ?

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DEPUTY PRESIDENT: He has said that instead of a surplus of Rs. 12,000 there will be a deficit of Rs. 23,000. Does anybody wish to offer any remarks?

MR. A. K PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Sir, I just want to say a word. The member who spoke on the other side said that the Anchal Department is a commercial department. We do not want to confuse this with the idea of a profiteering concern. Let us not try to make a profit out of it.

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I have already stated that the Government do not try to make a profit out of it. If the Government did so, then this House can say that it should not be so worked.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): I only want to emphasise this aspect of the question.

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): What I wished to emphasise was that we will have to come to this House for a larger sum if the Anchal Department were a losing concern.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): In answer to a question, Mr. Ramasubba Aiyar was not able to give the actual cost of printing a card.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: He gave that information. He said that the actual cost of printing a card is something less than 4 cash.

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I wish to give a word of personal explanation since it is said that I have not given some information vitally affecting the issue. I have said that the cost of a card is a little under 4 cash, and that this is being sold at 5 cash. If the cost of the same is excessive, it is open to the House to call for particulars and they could be fully satisfied that the Anchal Masters and the peons are really doing the proper service for the money. We should not confuse with the main issue before the House, the question whether proper service is rendered for the money. The House should not confuse this with the question whether the Anchal budget should be a balanced budget or should be a budget of expenditure independent of the revenue.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Taking that position as the basis of argument, let me say that by reducing the price of the cards you will perhaps be increasing the output on the whole, I mean, you will be increasing the actual income on the whole. I think that might be attempted with advantage. If you reduce the price to four cash and eight cash, more people will be induced to purchase.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: He says the reduction is so small that there will not be an appreciable increase.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): For this statement, I take inspiration from the suggestion made by an honourable member in the House of Commons when they were advocating for a penny stamp and a penny cover. I think Englishmen are very shrewd at commerce.

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And their suggestion has been found to be in agreement with the principle of increased return. I only hope that this suggestion will be considered by the member on the other side of the House. It also saves a good deal of trouble on the part of the people, for, as it is, they have now to take one cash and two cash with them. The member may say that the unit of one cash is already in existence. But it is very difficult for people always to carry one cash. So, instead of paying five cash, they will pay eight cash. Thus they will lose three cash.

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): I move that the question be now put.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: That motion is not necessary inasmuch as there is no other speaker.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I am prepared to speak.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Go on. You have forty minutes more.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): Sir, this question has to be decided upon on a consideration of certain allied questions. The learned Financial Secretary submitted to the House that the Anchal Department is a commercial department. At the same time, he said the usual characteristic of commerce is absent there, that is a view to make profit. So it is a commercial department of a very peculiar type where they are adhering to a self-denying ordinance as regards profits. He was questioned with respect to the actual cost of a card, stamp and an envelope. He said something with respect to the card which information he says he gained from a previous discussion in this House. As Financial Secretary, if he had figures with him, he would have done well to throw better light upon the question raised by my friend Mr. Kochukunju Pillai. Anyhow, the information supplied to the House leads one to the conclusion that the reduction of the price of a card from five cash to four cash would not actually hit the Government because the cost price is less than four cash.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: The cost of transport has not been included.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I will come to the question of transport. If that is the case, the actual cost of a stamp would be much less. How the Government are able to sel an envelope at the same rate as a stamp is a mystery to me. Some distinction ought to have been made there. They have not done that. Though it is said that the Anchal Department is a commercial department, there is another peculiarity attached to this sort of commerce The Anchal Regulation prohibits the running of any enterprise i ke the Anchal by any citizen of the State.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: It is a monopoly.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): It is a monopoly. So, if the people of the State consider that they can run an anchal service at a lower rate, they are not at liberty to do that because of the legislative

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[P. K. Narayana Pillai.]

enactment covering the Anchal transactions. That aspect of the matter has to be taken into consideration in solving the question. Now, in the nature of the easy communication existing between parts of the State, probably a private person will be in a position to run a sort of Anchal at four cash and eight cash, respectively. If that is possible, the State would not be put to any difficulty and loss because of their peculiar method of doing business. The State must therefore take into consideration that a restraint is placed upon the ordinary citizen. The motion of Mr. Sivatanu Pillai, I think, is based upon a conscious consideration that it is not possible for the ordinary citizen to run the Anchal.

That is one aspect of the question. The citizen is not at liberty to get a profit or to save the Government much of their worry. But if you are unable to make a profit and if you do not allow others to run it, it is an unfortunate position.

There is another matter which has to be considered at this juncture. The four and eight cash rates were fixed when the revenue of the State was derived from limited sources. Since the raising of the rate to five cash and ten cash, other revenue Regulations have been brought into force, for example, there is the Income Tax Regulation. There are various municipalities who tax the citizens; there are tolls; waste lands have been registered and land revenue has been stimulated; Vembanad *Kayal* has been registered away to a considerable extent. In all these ways, the subjects of the State are being called upon to augment the public revenues. All the same, this rate is being adhered to.

(At 4-30 P. M. the Dewan took the chair.)

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I am submitting that the rates settled at a time when these sources of revenue did not exist may be seen to continue unabated. Therefore, this question is liable to be considered in the light of the present situation and especially when it now seems clear that, during the past two years, the department was making a surplus, why not the Government at least in a moment of joy allow the department to reduce the rates? If a reduction of the rate is found to be a loss in the light of subsequent experiment, then the Government may increase it. But is it not an experiment worth the trial? That is the question which I would request my learned friend the Financial Secretary to consider. As some other friends on this side of the House said, I am not a very clever hand in the matter of dealing with figures and it is with something like a sense of trepidation that I approach the question. Therefore, without making up my mind one way or the other, I would request my friend to consider the question in the light of these observations. With these observations, I resume my seat.

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MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*) : Sir, I have not got much to say by way of reply. As was said by Mr. Ramasubba Aiyar, the financial effect of accepting the resolution will be that the Government will get about Rs. 23,000 less than what they have now got through this Department. In other words, as a result of this resolution being given effect to by the Government, they will get a sum of Rs. 11,000 less than the sum required to make the department self-supporting; that is, a deficit of Rs. 11,000 It is, after all, a paltry sum for the Government.

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : Sir, the member is not quite correct. I said that a surplus of Rs. 12,000 will be converted into a deficit of Rs. 23,000. There will thus be a deficit of Rs. 35,000.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*) : Though I may not be correct with mathematical accuracy, I will say there will be a deficit of Rs. 11,000 and odd, calculating, according to the figures supplied to me, the price of cards and stamps sold to the public at large, excluding stamps used for public service. But, after all, how is the deficit caused? It is only by reduction of one cash from card and two cash from envelope. If you see how this difference affects the people at large, you will find that it is most useful to them without exception, in point of its utility to the public at large. Considering the present juncture, as Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai pointed out, there is now Rs. 23 lakhs surplus revenue. Is it too much to ask to give up this amount in this matter which affects all the people including the poor? It may not affect very much the richer section. Even as regards them, I have heard it said that it is a matter of nuisance to go and get Anchal stamps and cards at the present rate and that they do not get any balance cash and, as I said before, as the cash happens to be the smallest coin, it has fallen into disuse, and people do not pay much attention to the currency of cash, except perhaps poor people who regard this cash as being useful to them, particularly those who go about begging. As I myself anticipated, the Financial Secretary said that the employees of the Anchal Department are very poorly paid. I concede that point. But it will be time enough when that matter is brought before this House to consider it in greater detail. Even if that be an obstacle to reduce the rates from 5 to 4 and 10 to 8 cash, I would suggest another policy to make up for the contemplated increment of salary to the employees of the Anchal Department. We can as well introduce Anchal telegraphic system by making arrangements with the Telegraphic Department outside and paying them 12 annas for getting despatch and taking money order commission of 2 annas for ten rupees or so. That will go a great way to make up for the contemplated increased salary to the employees of the Anchal Department. After all, what is the financial effect? It will come to a deficit of Rs. 12,000. It will not be very irrelevant if I say that Kuzhitturai toll receipts have increased from Rs. 36,000 to Rs. 50,000. This deficit in the Anchal Department can very well be made up by the receipts in the toll-gates. We should not look at one side of the picture alone. People think that this reduction in the rates of cards and envelopes should be taken side by side with the

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[Mr. M. Sivatanu Pillai.]

long catalogue of recent methods of tapping the sources of revenue both direct and indirect, as Municipal taxes and toll-gate receipts. Certainly, the Government cannot have any pretence of justification to say boldly that this will affect the revenue of the State if this resolution is given effect to. Taking into consideration this year's surplus, taking into consideration that a cash is the smallest coin in the State and taking into consideration that the department is a very useful one to the people at large, without a single exception, I appeal to the Government at least to see that the present rates are reduced at least to the former rates of 4 and 8 cash. With these words, I press the resolution.

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Sir, I shall not traverse the ground which has been already traversed by me, but I shall content myself with speaking on a few observations made by certain members. I shall summarise very briefly the arguments against the acceptance of the proposition as it has been brought forward by the mover of the resolution. One of the speakers said that we have now had a very large surplus and that we could distribute that surplus by reducing the Anchal rates, irrespective of whether the service is self-supporting or not. As I said previously, the first point about the Anchal service is whether this House desires the Government to go back upon the principle which has been deliberately accepted and which is in force, namely, that the service should be self-supporting. When I used the words 'commercial service' I was pulled up and asked: "How do you call it a commercial department? You hold a monopoly. Have you passed a self-denying ordinance so that you would not take away the increase of revenue before imposing the maximum Anchal rate?" Well, Sir, to be more accurate, I should have called it a *quasi*-commercial department. I say that the object of the Government was not to tax the people as much as possible and to take as much money as possible. What I mean by a commercial department, rather a *quasi*-commercial department, is that we do not want the department to give us a *minus* result at the end of the year, compelling us to come to the House to find money for running the service.

MR. C. P. KOCHUKUNJU PILLAI (*Kottarakara* cum *Kunnattur*): May I know whether the Government are prepared to come to a compromise by reducing the price of one of the items, either cards or envelopes?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Well, Sir, the Government will be certainly very happy to consider any proposition particularly to take away the inconvenience of handling the small cash which has been mentioned to this House, provided the revenue will not be very seriously affected one way or the other. I will proceed to answer the other points. Now, Sir, as regards monopoly, I would earnestly ask the House to seriously consider whether there is anything in the argument that *anyone* can run the Anchal service? Would the public have the confidence which they have in the department? After all, what is a *public service*? A public service is a service where all the members of the public take part. It is a supposed

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distinction that the Government are pulling one way and perhaps the interest of the people lies another way; that is responsible for the criticism that the Government are holding the monopoly for this department and do not logically allow other people to compete with them, before stating that they cannot reduce the rates. Then, Sir, Mr. A. K. Pillai observed: "If you reduce the rate, can we not stimulate an increased growth of revenue?" Sir, there is a limit to these things. I believe it is admitted that four and five cash are the smallest rates in the whole world. I hope it will not be considered such a high rate pressing so heavily upon the people that they are worrying so much about. I have pointed out that the rates in British India are more than double and that even the rates in Cochin are fifty per cent. more than those in Travancore. Whatever may be the rate in British India, we must at least go by the Cochin rates. You cannot complain that the Cochin rate is high.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): I suppose that as the difference between four and five cash is so insignificant, the Government can accept that proposition?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): It is insignificant for the man who buys the card, but it is not insignificant when we take the total figure into consideration. As I have already said, it is not the object of the Government to make a substantial profit out of this.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Will it not be counteracted if registration charges are raised from 3 1/2 to 4 chackrams?

MR. K N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): It may be in a manner possible to re-adjust the rates, but I cannot say that I have considered all the aspects of the re-adjustment. If the motion is only for the reduction of five cash to four cash and ten cash to eight cash, naturally, we shall be faced with a proportionate deficit. But we do not want to have that deficit. Sir, one more point with regard to our general surplus. We had certainly a surplus, a very good surplus, but I hope that this House does not take it that every year the Government are going to have such a large surplus, so that it will be a matter of no moment to ignore a deficit in a commercial department. The House should not be carried away with any such idea.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): What if you try for a year?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*) What is the use of experimenting? We are certainly going to have a deficit. We can as well reduce the tax in some other directions.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): Since you had surplus for the last two years, why not you reduce the rate?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): We have had a deficit for five years. Taking the figures for the last five years, I find that there has been a *minus* figure of Rs. 22,000 per annum instead of a surplus. In fact, we advanced to the Anchal Department for the last five years Rs. 22,000 per annum as an average

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[Mr. K. N. Ramasubba Aiyar.]

excluding interest on capital. Then, Sir, one more point has been directed against the Financial Secretary and that is that he is not able to give with accuracy the actual cost of manufacturing cards, covers and stamps. I confess I did not come prepared with sufficient data to answer that particular question I thought the House would take the figures in regard to the amount spent on manufacturing cards, running the service, etc., as representing the proper standard on which this service could be run. As I said to the House, if they considered that the service was more costly than it had a right to be, it would be open to them to express their views about it at the proper time. But on the assumption that the expenditure is not unduly high, the problem to be faced is whether you are going to have a surplus or a deficit. I do not want that there should be a clouding of the real issue before the House. I have already said it might be possible for the Government to make a re-adjustment and to accept a re-adjustment which would do away with the troublesome one cash pieces when buying Anchal cards, provided that the total revenue is not seriously affected.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): May I know what the deficit will come to if the rate of the anchal card alone is reduced from 5 cash to 4 instead of reducing that on the covers and stamps?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): It might not be very much. It might only be a few thousand rupees; it might be anything between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 6,000.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): Will the Government be pleased to reduce the rate of the cards while retaining the rates of the envelopes and stamps?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Sir, even in that case, the inconvenience of these single cash pieces will remain. Is it worth while to remedy in one direction without doing so in the other direction, especially when it is for a trifling amount and when it is not pressing heavily on the people?

MR. C. P. KOCHUKUNJU PILLAI (*Kottarakara* cum *Kunnattur*): May I inform the Financial Secretary that the inconvenience caused by the cash pieces is very great and that very often the balance in cash is not given in the Anchal offices?

MR. K. N. RAMASUBBA AIYAR (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I do not agree with the member. I thank him for the question because it enables me to make an observation regarding the step that has been taken to prevent any possible evil that may occur. Stringent circulars have been issued by the Anchal Superintendent to all the Anchal Offices to see that the prescribed quantity of small change is kept in every office. I can only assure the House that we are doing whatever we can in the matter. I satisfied myself in regard to this as soon as I saw this resolution tabled and I made personal enquiries and I can say that, whenever the Anchal Superintendent goes on circuit, he is very particular to see whether the circular is being followed and whether sufficient stock of single cash pieces is kept in the office.

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